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Stone-Age Picassos: 30,000-Year-Old Trove

Artistic Level of French Cave Paintings Stuns Scientists After Date Confirmed

By Marliese Simons
New York Times Service

PARIS — French authorities have announced that scientific tests have shown some of the masterfully drawn beasts discovered last December in a cave to be at least 30,000 years old, making them the world's oldest known examples of Stone Age paintings.

The Culture Ministry said French and British specialists had determined that charcoal pigments of two rhinoceroses and a bison found in the Chauvet cave in the southeastern Ardèche region were between 30,340 and 32,410 years old.

The oldest previously known cave painting was dated 27,110 before the present and shows the simple outline of a human hand. It was discovered in 1992 in France on a cave wall near Marseille.

Archaeologists said they were stunned by the finding. The team studying the great underground gallery with its more than 300 animal images, many of them leaping or running across great panels, had estimated initially that they were painted perhaps some 20,000 years ago.

The ministry said the test results, which "make these the oldest known painting in the world," have "overturned the accepted notions about the first appearance of art and its development," and they show that "the human race early on was capable of making veritable works of art." Until now, experts have generally thought that early drawing and painting began with crude and clumsy lines and then gradually became more sophisticated over centuries.

"This date comes as a shock to many of us," said Jean Clottes, the French rock art specialist who has led the scientific exploration of the cave. "It upsets all our thinking about how style evolved," he said.

"We can no longer argue that the development of art was linear," Mr. Clottes added, "because we see now that it was not just a matter of a crude sort of art at first and then a slow improvement. This shows us that early art, just like art of the past few thousand years, had ups and downs. That there were periods when art had a heyday or was less important and that there were artists who were more backward or more gifted."

He continued, "Here we are talking about a time at the beginning of our species and we see that those early painters were as capable as much later artists."

Because the work in the Chauvet cave has proved to be so ancient, archaeologists in France and Spain, both of which are rich in Stone Age art, have said they may have to reconsider the age of artwork found in other caverns and rock shelters that has not been scientifically dated.

The Culture Ministry said that the surprising results had been obtained through 12 separate radiocarbon datings, made from eight samples. They were carried out recently by two French institutes, the Center for Low Radioactivity at Gif-sur-Yvette and the Center for Radiocarbon dating of the University of Lyon.



Two French peacekeepers carrying a third, who was wounded Wednesday in the foot, to an ambulance in Sarajevo.

Israel Agrees To Speed Up Power Shift to Palestinians

All Civilian Functions To Be Relinquished to a Self-Rule Government

By Barton Gellman
Washington Post Service

JERUSALEM — Israel gave a shot of adrenaline to sluggish talks on Palestinian self-rule by agreeing suddenly Tuesday night that it will hand over all civilian powers to an elected Palestinian government in the West Bank instead of transferring a few functions at a time.

The concession came on the eve of the 13th diplomatic shuttle to the region by Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher. It took place during negotiations in Cairo over the promised expansion of Palestinian self-rule from its present enclaves in the Gaza Strip and the town of Jericho to nearly the whole of the West Bank.

Important differences remain between Israeli and Palestinian negotiators on the ultimate measure of occupation: how far and how fast Israel's army will withdraw from Arab population centers.

The two sides also disagree on the symbolically important question of whether East Jerusalem Palestinians may run for office in the expanded self-rule authority. And as for the 140,000 Jewish settlers still living in the occupied West Bank, they are not yet even on the agenda.

Even so, the new Israeli position was described by both sides as a breakthrough. In practical terms, it is a large step toward giving the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat jurisdiction, if not yet quite sovereignty, over all the territories — save East Jerusalem and Jewish settlements — captured from Jordan in the 1967 Middle East War.

On Mr. Christopher's last trip to the region, the two sides gave themselves a July 1 deadline to work out the details of how elections will proceed in the West Bank and Gaza and how Israel will transfer power to the authority thus elected. Under agreements reached in 1993 and 1994, the elections are now nearly a year overdue.

Prospects of meeting the latest deadline had looked rather dim. Israel holds most of the high cards in the self-rule talks, and it has not been inclined to make concessions while radical Palestinians were killing Jews.

But Friday will mark two months since the last fatal terror attack. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has said repeatedly that Israel wants nothing from the Palestinians but security against such attacks, and the recent hiatus apparently has emboldened him to move ahead.

Brigadier General Yehoshua Amichay, the head of army intelligence research, was reported to have warned a Knesset committee on Tuesday that terror would increase sharply again as soon as Israel shifted the West Bank to Mr. Arafat's control — because the army will be gone and because General Amichay thinks Mr. Arafat will lose much of his motivation to confront the radicals.

For that reason, Israel wants to move slowly on what it calls the "redeployment" of its forces. The army's plan, dubbed "Rainbow II," envisions many months of construction of new roads for settlers to bypass Palestinian towns and a slowly phased withdrawal.

On Wednesday, the Knesset Finance Committee voted to give the army about \$70 million immediately to begin work on those roads.

Israel wants to pause after vacating each town to assess security, while the Palestinians are demanding a strict timetable. And the two sides also disagree on the depth of withdrawal.

Faisal Hussein, a member of Mr. Arafat's cabinet, said in a statement.

Missed Signals in Car War

U.S. and Japan Admit Misjudgments

By David R. Sangster
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — As the American deadline for a virtual embargo on imports of Japanese luxury cars approaches, officials of both countries concede that they have deeply miscalculated the other's resolve in their trade confrontation. So far, they say, neither side can find a way out.

Economic officials and diplomats, in interviews in Tokyo and Washington in the last two weeks, acknowledged that they had failed to recognize critical political signals indicating that neither side was prepared to back down. That happened despite intense efforts to study each other, talk to each other and spy on each other.

The two sides appear farther apart now than they were a few weeks ago. They cannot even agree on the agenda of low-level talks next week in Geneva, nor on the location of a subsequent negotiation that may be the last chance to resolve the issue before the 100 percent tariffs on 13 Japanese car models go into effect on June 28.

[On Wednesday, the United States rejected a request by the European Union that it be allowed to participate in the automotive talks, Reuters quoted an EU official as saying in Geneva. The official said the United States had suggested the EU open its own procedure against Japan under the dispute-settlement mechanism of the World Trade Organization.]

On Tuesday, Japanese officials hinted that they might be drawing up a list of American products that would be subject to retaliation. Vice President Al Gore, sitting beside President Bill Clinton during a television interview Monday, delivered a stern warning to the Japanese.

"If they in any way misjudge the strength and resolve of the president in pursuing this," Mr. Gore said, "they're making a serious mistake."

But officials on both sides say that a number of such mistakes have already been made.

The United States, some officials now acknowledge, missed the importance of a

Bosnian Serbs Free More Hostages

By Roger Cohen
New York Times Service

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — The Bosnian Serbs released three more United Nations hostages, bringing the total freed since the peacekeepers were seized last month to 232, UN officials said Wednesday.

But 53 peacekeepers were still detained and 93 confined at their positions by the Serbs, said Leah Melkin, a spokeswoman for the United Nations in Zagreb, Croatia. Officials in the Serbian capital of Belgrade said it was likely that the remaining 53 hostages would be released soon.

The three peacekeepers — a Spaniard, a Brazilian and a Frenchman — were flown Wednesday from the Bosnian Serbs' stronghold of Pale to Belgrade, UN officials said. Their release followed that of 108 other peacekeepers about 12 hours earlier in the day.

The releases came as Sarajevo suffered a day of relentless shelling and small arms fire that underscored the collapse of UN efforts to maintain the city as a "safe area."

The city shuddered to cannon, tank and rocket fire as a battle for a strategic ridge south of the town center between government forces and separatist Serbs spread into a citywide free-for-all, during which three people were killed and at least 19 injured. Streets were deserted as many of the almost 300,000 people left in Sarajevo huddled in basements.

As the hostage crisis began to wind down, it appeared that what the United Nations itself called Serbian "terrorism" had paid off.

The NATO bombing that led to the seizure of the hostages has not been repeated, the Serbian bombardment of Sarajevo that the NATO air attacks were supposed to stop has intensified, and the Bosnian Serbs appear to have received quiet assurances that the era of NATO air strikes in Bosnia is over.

"It's pretty clear that air strikes are finished, and that's no doubt been whispered in Karadzic's ear by some national governments," said one UN official. Radovan Karadzic is the leader of the Bosnian Serbs.

For two years, NATO air strikes have been a sanction available to United Nations peacekeepers to protect so-called "safe areas," including Sarajevo, Bihac and Gorazde and ensure that aid convoys are able to reach them.

But in a succession of crises in these

Leak Unravels the Inner Workings of G-7

By Alan Friedman
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — As if the curtain had come up while the actors were still in rehearsal, the mystique of world summitry seemed to evaporate with the leaking of the draft final communiqué meant for next week's meeting of leaders of the world's seven richest countries.

The document is only the work of the so-called sherpas, the advance planners for the summit, and the draft is dated "May 27, 1995 — 1400 hours." But officials of Group of Seven countries said the communiqué offered a pretty fair idea of what President Bill Clinton and other G-7 leaders aim to announce at the end of their annual economic summit, which is June 15 to 17 in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Among the highlights of the 11-page document, a copy of which was obtained by the International Herald Tribune, are the following:

- A plan to create an "Emergency Financing Mechanism" at the International Monetary Fund to react quickly and with sufficient money available for any future Mexico-style financial crisis.
- A proposal to finance this new IMF facility by doubling the presently available \$27 billion in the General Arrangements to Borrow, a mechanism that is funded by 10 wealthy Western nations plus Saudi Arabia.
- An effort to avoid having to spend any money at all on a Mexico-size crisis by setting up an improved "early warning system" so the IMF can improve the way it monitors economic events among its 179 member nations.
- Praise for the work under way to close the Chernobyl nuclear plant in the Ukraine and for Ukraine's transition to a market economy, along with the offer of up to \$2 billion of fresh international financial aid by the end of 1996.
- A proposal to eliminate "unnecessary overlap" among global financial institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF, and to reduce costs and streamline economic programs at the United Nations.

None of the points is surprising. Each of the proposals has already been the subject of extensive preparation and talks among sherpas and G-7 finance ministers that date back nearly six months.

The endless protocol planning for summits, the haggling over the substance of communiqués, and the lack of much real space and time for government leaders to break new ground when they sit down to meet are all part of the summit process.

But as one G-7 official said Wednesday: "These G-7 summits are meant to be well-ordered events. We try to avoid pulling rabbits out of hats."

The same official also stressed the importance of fuller disclosure by countries that borrow from the IMF and by the IMF's own surveillance process.

The draft communiqué, for example, urges the IMF to "establish benchmarks

AGENDA

Governor of Arkansas Is Indicted

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

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Clinton Blasts Dole on Bosnia

LITTLE ROCK, Arkansas — Governor Jim Guy Tucker of Arkansas was indicted Wednesday on three felony charges by a federal grand jury in connection with the Whitewater investigation, Kenneth Starr, the independent counsel, said.

The charges involve a period in 1987 when Mr. Tucker, a Democrat, was a lawyer in private practice. He was indicted along with William J. Marks, his partner in a Florida cable television venture.

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Canada's Conservatives, Darlings of West, Head East

By Anne Swardson
Washington Post Service

TORONTO — The great wave of political conservatism that has washed over Canada's west in the last decade now appears to have reached the nation's populous east.

It comes in the person of Michael Harris, a former ski instructor who is favored to win the election Thursday for the premiership of Ontario, Canada's largest province, after promising a 30 percent cut in tax rates, the introduction of "workfare" for welfare recipients and the repeal of affirmative-action hiring requirements.

The platform of Mr. Harris's Progressive Conservative Party is one of the most radical rightist manifestos ever laid out in Canada, a nation that has based much of its national identity on the contrast between its generous social programs and the meager aid offered in the United States.

If Mr. Harris wins, he will dethrone Premier Bob Rae, a leader of the leftist New Democratic Party. In recent days, Mr. Rae has charged that Mr. Harris's proposals are "going down the road of some Republican right-wing approach that is imported from the United States."

Indeed, Mr. Harris was endorsed last week by the Wall Street Journal, which praised his tax-cutting proposals as an evocation of the Reagan administration's supply-side economic policies of the 1980s.

Mr. Harris's platform is not quite that — his proposed tax cut is smaller than it might seem, and he does not promise that it will bring an economic surge — but the popularity he has attracted is another benchmark in a series of recent conservative gains.

Even if he does not win, the support he has garnered will very likely influence future politics in Ontario and the rest of Canada.

"He has redefined the agenda," said Hugh Segal, former chief of staff to Brian Mulroney, the former Progressive Conservative prime minister. "The issue will go from dividing up the pie to setting priorities so you have the fiscal capacity to pay your debts."

A victory by Mr. Harris would also remake the federal political landscape. The Progressive Conservative Party was ousted from national leadership in 1993 and reduced to two seats in Parliament; if it is restored to power in Ontario, which holds one-third of Canada's population, the party will have a far larger base from which to rebuild.

The nationwide shift toward conservatism first became obvious when Preston Manning formed the Reform Party.



SALAAM, HELMUT — Yasser Arafat bid farewell to Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany in Jericho Wednesday after Mr. Kohl pledged \$7 million to aid Palestinian autonomy. Page 6.

Dow Jones	Trib Index
Down 23.17	Down 0.49%
4462.03	122.43
The Dollar	Wed. close
New York	1.4144
DM	1.5895
Pound	84.665
Yen	4.9675
FF	4.946

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Italy.....2,600 Lire	Tunisia.....1,250 Din
Ivory Coast 1,120 CFA	Turkey.....7.45,000
Jordan.....1 JD	U.A.E.....8.50 Dirh
Lebanon.....US\$ 1.50	U.S. Mil. (Eur.).....\$1.10

THE AMERICAS

Middle Class and Worried About Medicare

By David E. Rosenbaum
New York Times Service

BRADENTON, Florida — Republican plans in Washington to hold down government spending have caused an odd tension in this land of middle-class retirees.

On the one hand, the people here, mostly refugees from Midwestern winters, hold firm to the principle of thrift that has guided their own lives, and they believe deeply that the government should balance its books.

On the other hand, they are averse to parting with any of the government benefits that have helped make them self-sufficient in their old age.

From their own experiences, most are convinced that Medicare, which covers a third of all the residents here in Manatee County, just south of Tampa Bay, is rife with fraud, that doctors and hospitals routinely milk the system and that the bureaucrats who run Medicare from Washington are mindless obstacles.

Many also believe the government spends more on foreign aid than it does on Medicare. (In fact, 10 times as much is spent on Medicare.)

And they think that what they are receiving in Social Security retirement benefits and Medicare is no more than what they paid in payroll taxes when they were working.

(In fact, people turning 65 and retir-

ing this year will, on average, get back in seven years of benefits everything they contributed in Social Security taxes plus interest, and they will get four times as much in Medicare benefits over the rest of their lives as they paid into the system.)

Given this, it is not surprising that the prevailing view in the retirement communities is that the federal budget can be balanced by controlling abuses, finding efficiencies and cutting spending in ways that will not affect them.

The congressman from Bradenton, Daniel Miller, whose district has the highest proportion of elderly people of any in Congress, knows otherwise.

A member of both the House Budget and Appropriations committees, Mr. Miller is a stalwart of the Republican revolution and a true believer in the cause of reducing spending and balancing the federal budget.

"There is something very scary about this debt," he said in an interview at his office here.

Mr. Miller suggested that Medicare would have to be completely overhauled to find the savings of almost \$300 billion that Republicans in Congress are contemplating in the program over the next seven years.

His job, he said, reflecting the view of the Republican leadership in Congress, is to find ways to squeeze that money out of the system without adversely affecting his constituents. He described

the task as difficult but not impossible.

When Mr. Miller tested this view on his constituents this week, he found them skeptical.

"They're scared," he said later. "They're scared of change."

On Memorial Day, Mr. Miller and Frank Luntz, a Republican pollster who was deeply involved in writing the "Contract With America," met with groups of retirees at a couple of trailer parks here. 2 of the 103 listed under "Mobile Homes-Parks" in the yellow pages of the Bradenton-Sarasota telephone directory.

Here is some of what they found on a steamy afternoon at Fair Lane Acres:

• Many people do not believe official findings that without changes in the system, the trust fund that finances Medicare's hospitalization coverage will be bankrupt by 2002. "The government has been spewing out numbers for years," one man said. "You can't believe them."

• The reaction to the idea of health maintenance organizations is generally negative. "You want a qualified doctor," a woman said. "You don't want one you have to take."

• The trailer park crowd would not mind if they retired with incomes over \$50,000 a year had to pay more out of pocket for medical care. But few of those at Fair Lane Acres, it is safe to say, are that affluent. When they were asked if they themselves would be willing to pay more, most said they could not afford it.

At one point, Mr. Luntz asked them what came to mind when they thought of Medicare and doctors.

"Overcharging," said a man at the end of a row.

Mr. Luntz asked him to pass the microphone along.

"Overcharging," said the next person. "Overcharging," said the next.

"Overcharging also," said the fourth person in the row.

At another point, Mr. Luntz asked whether they were concerned that if nothing changed, Medicare would not be around for their grandchildren.

In response, one person after another told a story of having been overbilled or inconvenienced by Medicare.

"I ask you questions about your grandkids, and you talk about your situation with Medicare," Mr. Luntz complained. "Aren't we all in this together?"

A man answered: "You're saying our grandchildren are going to have to make up the difference. There are other ways of reducing this."

Medicare is hardly the only program in which congressional Republicans are seeking vast savings.

The biggest challenge he faces, Mr. Miller said in the interview, is to make sure that Florida in general and his district in particular get a fair shake when formulas are written that determine how the remaining money gets distributed once the savings are achieved.

POLITICAL NOTES

Clinton Veto, as Promised

WASHINGTON — Making good on his threats, President Bill Clinton vetoed his first bill Wednesday — a \$16.4 billion package of spending cuts from this year's budget.

The speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich, and the Senate majority leader, Bob Dole, accused the president of shirking his responsibility to trim the federal budget.

Congress, after two weeks of delay, officially delivered the measure to Mr. Clinton on Tuesday night, knowing the president objected to cuts in education, job training and the environment. A veto would jeopardize disaster relief aid in the Oklahoma City bombing and for earthquake and flood victims.

"We're glad it's finally here so we have the opportunity to make some suggestions on how it can be improved," said the White House spokesman, Michael McCurry. (AP)

Terrorism Bill Nears Vote

WASHINGTON — The Senate has made two changes sought by President Bill Clinton to anti-terrorism legislation, and Democrats dropped most of their gun-related amendments, clearing the way for anticipated final passage of the measure.

The legislation began moving slowly toward a Senate vote Tuesday night after Mr. Clinton reversed his position and accepted the Republicans' goal of including in the bill limits on appeals by death row inmates.

The Senate voted Wednesday, 67 to 28, to reject one of several Democratic amendments aimed at tempering the bill's stringent limits on those appeals, which include a one-year limit for death-row inmates to appeal their sentences. The other Democratic provisions were also expected to be defeated. (AP)

Income Tax Repeal Urged

WASHINGTON — With some prominent Democratic support, the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Representative Bill Archer, Republican of Texas, has opened a political drive that he hopes ultimately will lead to the replacement of the federal income tax with a tax on what people spend.

"Our challenge," Mr. Archer said Tuesday, beginning the first of three days of hearings into new systems of taxation, "is to do no less than pull the current income tax code out by its roots and throw it away so it can never grow back."

In an interview, Mr. Archer acknowledged that sweeping changes in the tax system were unlikely in the next year or two. But he said his intention was to begin a national debate on the best way to change the system and to have that debate become part of next year's presidential campaign.

Another form of taxation — a flat tax, under which the income of individuals and businesses is taxed at a single, fixed rate — is championed by Representative Richard K. Arney of Texas, the majority leader, and is supported by many of his fellow Republicans in Congress. (NYT)

Rethinking Immigration

WASHINGTON — Sweeping changes in U.S. immigration policy would slash the number of new admissions but ease the way for spouses and minor children to join legal residents under a plan to be released Wednesday by a congressionally appointed panel.

The proposals by the nine-member Commission on Immigration Reform appointed by Congress will be reviewed later this month by Congress, where many of the Republican members have been pushing for limits.

Senator Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming has proposed legislation for a 25 percent reduction in immigration over the next five years.

The commission's proposals would reduce the annual number of legal immigrants from its current level of 830,000 to 550,000, restrict admission of unskilled workers and impose new fees on employers sponsoring skilled workers in the United States. (AFP)

Quote Unquote

Mr. Gingrich, who delivered a speech Wednesday to a group from Iowa, where the presidential campaign's first voting takes place next February, and who is scheduled to begin a four-day swing Friday through New Hampshire, site of the nation's first primary, when asked if he was running for president: "No. Now that settles that, right?" (LAT)

Away From Politics

• An overnight curfew for children under 17 was given preliminary approval by the District of Columbia Council, imposing fines of up to \$300 on offending parents or guardians. (AFP)

• A con man arranged the murder of the candy heiress Helen Brach 18 years ago because she threatened to expose his swindles of rich, lonely widows, a Chicago federal court ruled. Judge Milton Shadur of the U.S. District Court said he would sentence Richard Bailey, 65, to life in prison but withheld final sentencing pending resolution of questions raised by Mr. Bailey's lawyers. (Reuters)

• A New York subway train ran a red light and its emergency brakes failed just before a deadly crash with another train, a safety official said. One person was killed and 54 injured in the crash Monday morning. (AP)

• A proposed \$990,000 settlement of their complaints of sex discrimination is too weak to guarantee protection from unfair treatment, nine female CIA employees say. They plan to appear before a federal judge Friday to ask him to kill the settlement, said Michael Kelley, their attorney. (AP)

• The health of America's youth is going downhill, spurred by violence, pregnancy and drug and alcohol abuse, doctors say in a bleak review of the latest research reported in The Journal of the American Medical Association. (AP)

• Two children have died after spending up to 10 hours in a car parked outside a motel in hot weather while their mother, Jennie Bain, 20, met friends for a party, the police said in McMinnville, Tennessee. Dustin Ducker, 1, and his brother, Devon Ducker, almost 2, apparently died of dehydration and suffocation. (AP)

Safety First as Space Shuttle Goes Private

By Kathy Sawyer
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — National Aeronautics and Space Administration officials are preparing to shift responsibility for operating the space shuttle to a private company as part of a cost-cutting strategy that will all but eliminate what is left of the multilayered safety organization that mushroomed in response to the 1986 Challenger accident.

The overhaul of the shuttle program will abolish thousands of jobs in the next two years and drastically reduce the number of people required to sign off on the flight readiness of various shuttle components.

That aspect of the plan has alarmed some critics who say flight safety will be jeopardized when shuttle managers are struggling to meet a demanding launch schedule. Beginning this month, the managers plan an ambitious series of joint missions with the Russians, with the goal of building an international research facility in orbit.

The first step in the possible "privatization" of the shuttle program will involve the agency's selection of a company as lead contractor, to take over routine processing and related tasks involving thousands of employees at different NASA centers under dozens of government contracts.

The change will give greater responsibility for some aspects of shuttle safety to the prime contractor because it would eliminate various safety checks performed by NASA employees. Astronauts would remain civil servants and NASA would still control the launching schedule. Officials expect fierce competition between Rockwell International Corp. and Lockheed Martin Corp. for the role of prime contractor.

NASA officials maintain that because of the accumulating years of flight experience and improvements in hardware design, the operation is actually getting safer. The shuttle chief, Bryan O'Connor, said he was revising the official statistical



The astronaut Norman Thagard, shown in a video image, speaking in a space-to-ground press conference from the orbiting Russian Mir spacecraft after he broke the U.S. space endurance record of 84 days, 1 hour, 16 minutes, set by three Skylab astronauts in 1974.

estimate of the probability of a catastrophic accident, from one in 78 flights to about one in 100 or maybe 120, based on a study conducted by an outside company and being reviewed by space flight veterans.

Since the maiden flight on April 12, 1981, shuttles have completed 68 missions, 43 since the Challenger accident interrupted missions for 32 months.

The new risk estimate takes into account improvements made since 1986 in the design of the solid-fuel rocket boosters, one of which caused the Challenger tragedy, as well as better performance data on the unique, high-risk shuttle main engines and other factors. Mr. O'Connor said. The estimated risk would be cut further, to one accident in 160 flights by 1998,

through improvements in engine design, he said.

Although the number of planned launchings will be reduced in 1996 from eight to seven a year, shuttles face a tough schedule of six missions in the next seven months. In late June, Atlantis is to make the first attempt by a shuttle to dock in orbit with the Russian space station Mir.

The shuttle is crucial to the space agency's major undertaking of the next decade — the construction of the space station, which alone calls for 27 flights from 1997 to 2002.

Although it is in many ways a technological marvel, the world's first reusable space plane has always suffered from high costs and high risks. Because of this dual encumbrance,

analysts charge, work on the space frontier remains shut off from broad public participation and support. (NASA estimates the shuttle's cost for flying one pound to orbit is about \$10,000.)

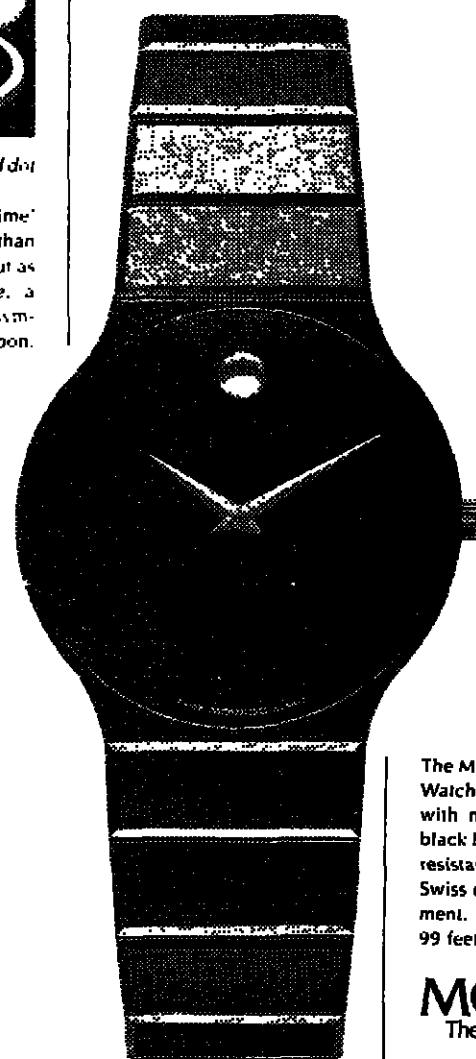
But attempts to make improvements on one side of the risk-cost equation can be detrimental on the other, managers acknowledged in interviews. They are engaged, they say, in a tense and careful effort to find a practical balance point.

Safety is still the shuttle program's top priority, said Mr. O'Connor, a former astronaut who helped with the investigations after the Challenger accident. But he added that radical restructuring is the only way to achieve the drastic level of cost reduction the White House called for in January.



About the legendary gold dot dial: "We do not know 'time' as numbers," artist Nathan George Horwitt said, "but as the rising sun." Hence, a gold dot at 12 o'clock symbolizes the sun at high noon.

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an activist who claims Vietnam is still holding U.S. prisoners of war, U.S. military officers, diplomats and veterans of the war, which ended 20 years ago with a Communist victory over the U.S.-backed Saigon regime.

Vietnamese officials flatly denied any American POWs were in captivity, but they otherwise stayed on the sidelines.

The backdrop was a growing U.S. debate over normalizing relations with Vietnam, in which supporters of Hanoi are urging President Bill Clinton to act soon, before the 1996 presidential election campaign starts. (Reuters)

VOICES From Asia

Kim Young Sam, president of South Korea, after dismissing the head of a state-owned telecommunications company, **Cho Paek Jae**, who was blamed for ineffectively dealing with a weeks-old labor dispute that has threatened to paralyze the company: "Korea Telecom is the nation's central nerve system. The way this incident is handled will demonstrate the government's determination that no illegalities go unpunished." (AP)

Kozo Iguchi, Japan's chief cabinet secretary, saying Japan will hold talks with China on the disposal of chemical weapons that the Japanese Imperial Army left in China during World War II: "Our survey proved that former Japanese forces left chemical weapons in China. In future, we will fully consult with the Chinese government on this matter, and we should handle it with responsibility and sincerity." (Reuters)

Rusdin Mambere, an Indonesian private quoted by the Antara news agency as telling an Indonesian court how, under orders from an officer, he took six bound East Timor civilians who had been captured by a rebel group called the GPK and shot them to death: "I took four GPK prisoners who had been bound together to a river, told them to crouch and shot them. Then I took another two prisoners and eliminated them as well." (AFP)

EUROPE

Europe's Search for Security Will Atlantic Trade Pact Prove It Matters?

By Lawrence Malkin
International Herald Tribune

NEW YORK — Trade policy buzzes with acronyms. After NAFTA, now comes TAFTA, quickly followed by Transatlantic Free Trade Agreement. The idea of a grandiose pact seems too grandiose for the persistent but hardly disabling economic quarrels between Europe and the United States.

To the degree that the Europeans advance the idea because they want stroking by an administration obsessed by Asia and Latin America and lacking direction in Europe, the Clinton administration sent Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher to Madrid last week to make appropriate noises of transatlantic concern and will continue doing so in forums ranging from NATO to European-American chambers of commerce.

To the degree that Europe wants the evolving new security arrangements of the post-Cold War world to have a genuine economic dimension, the administration made it clear in Brussels on May 22 though its trade representative, Mickey Kantor, that it is ready to start discussing specific and detailed issues with the help of "a major and purposeful transatlantic dialogue among our businesses."

That dialogue got started in Washington this week at meetings with European and U.S. business executives convened by a Commerce Department undersecretary, Jeffrey Garten, whose concern represents a 180-degree turn as the architect of the administration's trade promotion policy in what he christened the Big Emerging Markets outside Europe.

The European Commission's trade and industrial directors also were there, as were senior European specialists for Mr. Kantor and Mr. Christopher. They were considering responses to a joint letter sent to American and European businesses in February by Commerce Secretary Ronald H. Brown and two EC commissioners, Sir Leon Brittan for trade and Martin Bangemann for industry.

Foremost on the agenda for at least 40 percent of the American and European companies, said Frank

Vargo, Mr. Garten's deputy for Europe, was standardizing and clarifying regulations ranging from computer privacy to ketchup labeling. Such standardization is a principal concern of Europe itself as it unites.

The American companies were also concerned about tariffs, especially in high technology and among small companies that do not manufacture in Europe. They also worried about opportunities in Eastern Europe as it draws closer to the EU.

European companies stressed the need for reform of American taxation and regulations that raised hurdles to their investments in banking, communications, and other sensitive areas where foreign ownership has

NEWS ANALYSIS

been thrown up by Congress as a protectionist barrier. The American companies wanted to attack similar public procurement policies in European telecommunications and public utilities.

"All of them wanted more free trade, and especially the Americans in industries which they felt had been left out of the Uruguay round," Mr. Vargo said.

They didn't care much whether the box had TAFTA written on it, so much as they wanted to be pragmatic about what was inside.

This modest beginning is a long way from what is being taken as a utopian — or at least a 21st century — idea of a free trade area of 700 million people on both sides of the Atlantic that would parallel the North American Free Trade Area.

It first surfaced last autumn in Germany, whose politicians have never lost the Cold War habit of worrying if the United States will desert Europe.

The idea was eagerly seconded by the British conservative government as a transatlantic symbol to mollify its anti-European right wing. Canada would also be ready to seize on joint membership in two free trade areas to bolster investment and exports.

But France is decidedly cool to anything that might dilute its political influence in Europe.

Most important is the

skepticism in Washington, where few in the Republican Congress or the Clinton administration have the stomach for another political fight over free trade while the link with Mexico has yet to prove itself after this year's financial meltdown.

Mr. Christopher's ballyhooed speech promised only "serious study" of TAFTA. "In the United States there would be no support for it without free trade in agriculture," said Robert Hormats of Goldman, Sachs & Co. and a former senior trade official. "In Europe, free trade in agriculture would doom political support."

Such political support as there is comes from the labor unions and their Democratic friends in the congressional minority, who see it as a last chance to force Europe's higher labor and welfare standards on a Republican Congress.

In the current political climate, this is just not on. William Frenzel, a retired Republican congressman who heads the American wing of the Transatlantic Policy Network, agreed that "it is best left to the next generation."

The policy network is the brainchild of William Elles, a British Tory member of the European Parliament, and has been quietly shaping the business agenda now coming to the fore. It is composed of major American and European multinational companies and their representatives in Congress and the European Parliament. Its members met with Mr. Garten and his colleagues on Tuesday.

The American corporate members of the network are Apple Computer, AT&T, Digital Equipment, Johnson & Johnson, Mobil, Morgan Stanley, Motorola, Pfizer, 3M, and Time-Warner.

The Europeans are British Petroleum, ICL, and Rank Xerox of Britain; Germany's Daimler-Benz and VEB AG; Italy's IRI state holding company; Pechiney and Rhône-Poulenc of France, and the British-Dutch Unilever.

"The problem for the Europeans is that they will have to make a decision among themselves what price they want to pay if they want us to join them in some way, and so far they haven't done so," said an American business participant.

Designers In Italy Face Charges in Tax Probe

By Celestine Bohlen
New York Times Service

ROME — Prosecuting magistrates in Milan, whose corruption investigations continue to rock Italy, are seeking indictments against top figures in the fashion world, including Giorgio Armani, Gianfranco Ferré and Krizia, on charges that their companies paid kickbacks to tax inspectors.

The charges now go to an examining judge who will decide whether there is enough evidence to put the designers on trial. A similar indictment is being sought against a former prime minister, Silvio Berlusconi, on charges that executives of his Fininvest business empire also gave kickbacks in return for lenient tax audits.

It has been nine months since Milan's high-powered fashion industry — proud purveyors of Italian style and flair — first came under the scrutiny of the elite "Clean Hands" prosecuting team, whose investigations have led to the toppling of Italy's old political structure and continue to unnervingly lead business.

Reacting Wednesday to the news that the case now may go to court, the designers sounded decidedly untroubled.

"It is merely a normal procedure, a formality which must follow its course," said Mariuccia Mandelli, who goes by the name of Krizia.

"I have great faith in the judges and I serenely await for the matter to be cleared up."

The news is not a great surprise, said Mr. Armani, whose lawyer last year reported that his client had admitted paying a 100 million lire (now \$60,000) kickback during a tax audit in 1990.

Several designers along with Mr. Berlusconi have argued that the payments were extorted by the state auditors, making the businessmen victims rather than criminals.

Giovanna Mazzetti, editor of *Amica*, a leading women's magazine, said she did not think the scandal would harm the image of Italian fashion or fashion designers around the world. "These things are disturbing," she said, "but it is not as if they annul or annihilate their creativity."

Also charged is Santo Versace, brother of the designer Gianni Versace, who manages the family business. Altogether, news reports Wednesday said the magistrates have asked for indictments against 25 people, including some tax inspectors.

As the Milan prosecutors probe deeper into Italy's pervasive culture of corruption, their own techniques, and even their own past, has come under close scrutiny. Last week, Antonio Di Pietro, a former magistrate and a national hero for his role in the early Clean Hands investigations, confirmed that he himself is being investigated for using his position to obtain a 120,000 million lire (\$74,000) personal loan in 1992.

Argentina Ready To Pay Islanders To Quit Falklands

The Associated Press

LONDON — Argentina is prepared to offer British-descended families around £500,000 each to quit the disputed Falkland Islands or to accept rule from Buenos Aires, the Argentine foreign minister said Wednesday.

"We say that at a certain juncture monetary compensation, monetary payments may be useful, may be desirable," Foreign Minister Guido di Tella, visiting London for talks at the Foreign Office, said in a BBC radio interview.

Asked if Argentina would pay £500,000 (\$800,000) for each family, Mr. Di Tella said it was too early to "start haggling now." However, he added, "That sort of money, yes. A very substantial amount. It is made possible because there are very few people."

The Falkland Islands Office in London, which represents the interests of the 2,200 people living in the British colony off Argentina's coast, said they would not be bribed into leaving.

Paris Opéra Is Struck Again

The Associated Press

PARIS — A strike by technical staff has forced the Paris Opéra Ballet to cancel the first performance Wednesday night of a new program titled "Nijinska, Nijinsky" hours before the performance. The conflict over salaries and other matters has already canceled seven performances of four operas.



TURKISH ATTACK — The police removing the car of Yuda Yurum, leader of Ankara's small Jewish community, after it was blown up Wednesday. Islamic militants are suspected. Mr. Yurum was hospitalized with slight wounds.

BRIEFLY EUROPE

Sweden Eyes Schengen

STOCKHOLM — Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson gave formal notice on Wednesday of Sweden's intention to join the European Union's border-free Schengen group of nations.

The Foreign Ministry's EU specialist, Jan Strom, said that Mr. Carlsson had informed an all-party consultative group on foreign affairs that he intended to apply for observer status with a view to eventual full Schengen membership. (Reuters)

Israel-EU Trade Pact

JERUSALEM — The Israeli cabinet voted Wednesday in favor of a free trade and association accord with the European Union to replace a 1975 agreement, but called nonetheless for minor changes.

The vote was unanimous after a year of delays largely over Israeli demands for better export access, officials said. (AFP)

EU Sets Chechnya Aid

BRUSSELS — The European Union is to provide humanitarian aid worth 10 million European Currency Units (\$13 million) to civilians affected by the war in the Russian republic of Chechnya, an EU spokesman said Wednesday.

A European Commission spokesman said the aid would notably be used to help refurbish hospitals. (AFP)

Britain-in-Europe Drive

LONDON — A cross-party group of MPs on Wednesday relaunched the campaign that helped to keep Britain in the European Union 20 years ago, saying they wanted to be ready for any new referendum on the country's place in Europe.

Announcing a new Britain-in-Europe campaign, the members of Parliament expressed anger that opponents had been allowed to dominate the argument in Britain in recent months, and vowed to promote the arguments for active British involvement in the EU. (Reuters)

Cleaning Up North Sea

BRUSSELS — The European Union's environment commissioner, outlining her priorities before this week's meeting on how to make the North Sea cleaner, said Wednesday that the dumping of offshore installations in the sea should stop.

"How are we going to explain to the citizens of Europe that it is important to bring used glass to special containers if we at the same time allow oil companies to dump large installations in the oceans?" said Ritt Bjerregaard. (Reuters)

Irish-Made Mozzarella

BRUSSELS — The European Union's Commission said Wednesday it would allow the British government to give £4 mil-

lion in subsidies for a mozzarella processing plant in Northern Ireland. The £32 million plant is expected to provide 136 jobs in the town of Strabane.

A commission spokesman, Gérard Killy, said the cheese can be made with Irish cows' milk. He said the Irish produce should also be safe from irate Italians if they claim that only their sun-soaked climate can deliver the white, rubbery balls of cheese. (AP)

Calendar

European Union events scheduled for Thursday, June 8.

NANCY, France: The commissioner for competition policy, Karel Van Miert, is to give a speech on the liberalization of the telecommunications market.

FRANKFURT: The commissioner in charge of economic and monetary union, Yves Thibault de Silguy, is to give a speech before Deutsche Bank executives on a single European currency.

NANTES: Mario Monti, a member of the European Commission in charge of internal markets, financial services and financial integration, is to speak at a seminar entitled "European Economic Integration."

Sources: Agence Europe, AFP.

How Christopher Sees Future Ties

International Herald Tribune

Following are extracts from a speech on charting a transatlantic agenda given by Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher in Madrid:

"In the absence of a single unifying threat, and at a time of understandable focus on domestic concerns, some argue that the ties that bind us are fraying, and that America and Europe will inevitably drift apart.

"I reject that view. From World War II to our strong support for German unification, the United States and Europe have shared a common destiny. But we must not take this relationship for granted. It cannot be sustained by nostalgia."

"Deepening our economic relationship is central to this agenda; it undergirds not only our prosperity but also our security. Although our ties have expanded with the Asia-Pacific region and Latin America, it is important to recall that the United States and Europe en-

joy the largest combined external trade and investment relationship in the world today. ... All told, Europe accounts for almost half the foreign revenues of American firms. Our investment in Europe alone roughly equals that in the rest of the world put together. And since the Berlin Wall fell, the United States has become the top foreign investor in Central and Eastern Europe."

"The long-term objective is the integration of the economies of North America and Europe. ... We should undertake a transatlantic economic initiative to multiply trade, investment and jobs on both sides of the ocean. It will make us an even more powerful engine of the global economy."

"Thoughtful observers from Europe, Canada and the United States have proposed that we seek a Transatlantic Free Trade Agreement. ... We too intend to give it the serious study it deserves, with its considerable potential to form an element of our overall strategy."

EU Officials Are Cool on Pact

But They Support Deepening of Economic Cooperation

By Tom Buerkle
International Herald Tribune

BRUSSELS — European officials discount the prospect of a transatlantic free-trade area anytime soon, but believe economic cooperation must be deepened to keep the United States firmly engaged in Europe.

Europe has warmly welcomed Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher's call last week for a new transatlantic initiative centered on trade and economics, seeing it as insurance against an isolationist turn in America. Those fears have been fueled in recent weeks by the Clinton administration's waffling over Bosnia. Republican proposals to slash foreign aid and Washington's threatened trade war with Japan, which Europeans fear will undermine the global trading system.

"We are losing part of the traditional constituency of the transatlantic relationship in the United States," a senior German official said, referring to withdrawals that have cut the American troop presence in Europe to less

than one-third of its Cold War levels.

An economic initiative, which Spain hopes to introduce late this year when it holds the European Union's rotating presidency, would seek to use the U.S. and European business communities to establish a post-Cold War relationship in which economics provides the key to security, European officials say.

Already each of the two sides is by far the other's biggest trading and investment partner, with two-way trade and sales by foreign subsidiaries running at more than \$1.7 trillion a year compared with about \$1.1 trillion for trans-Pacific commerce.

"The transatlantic relationship is the single most important economic relationship in the world," said Keith Richardson, secretary-general of the European Roundtable of senior industrialists.

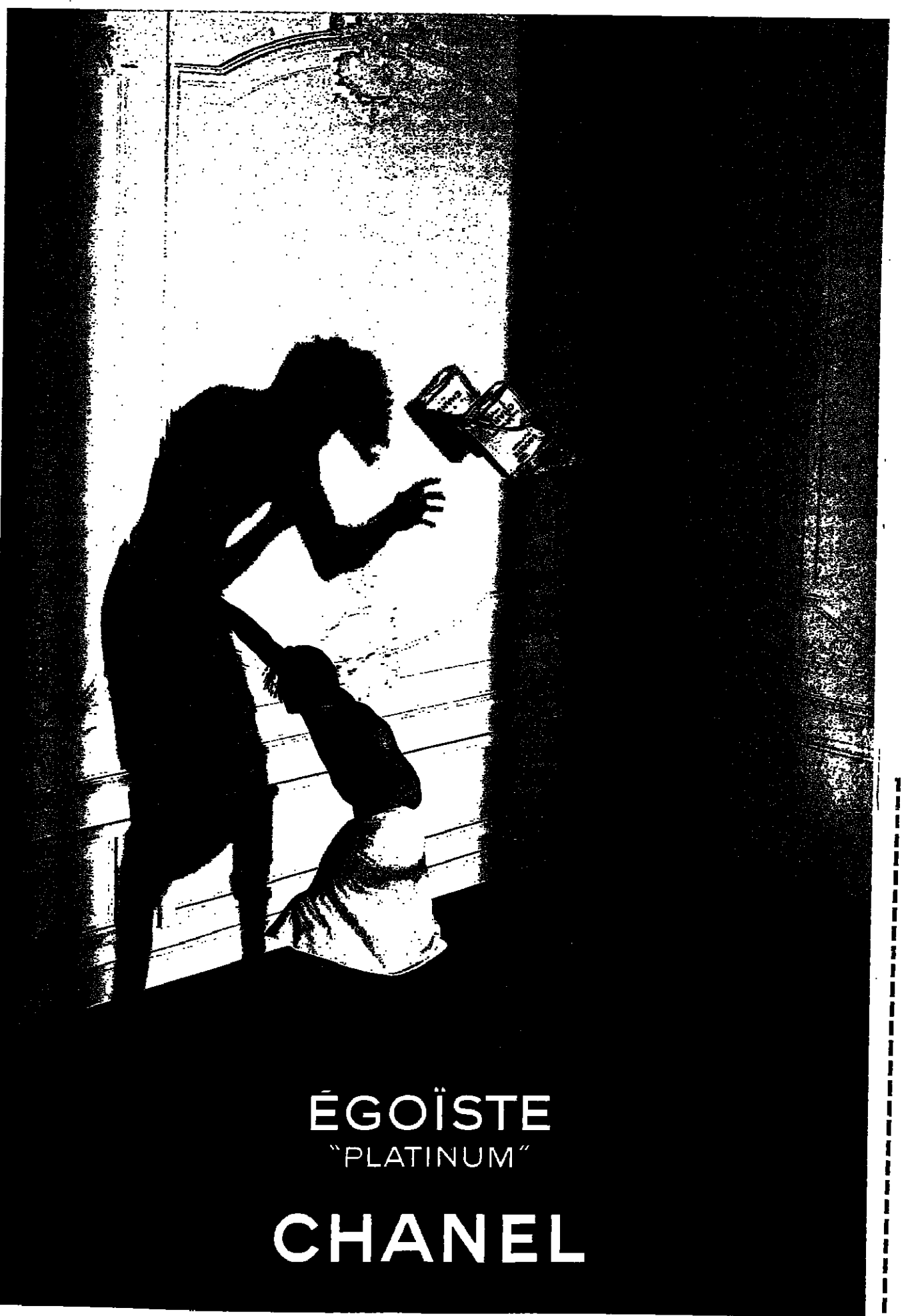
The economic measures under discussion would initially aim to establish common rules on investment, competition policy and product standards, and remove regulatory obstacles in such areas as telecommunications,

EU and U.S. officials say. Such moves would not only cut business costs and boost trade across the Atlantic, they also could help set standards for easier trade worldwide.

An agreement would "prepare the ground for the next wave of global liberalization," said Hans Gatz, head of EU affairs at Daimler-Benz AG.

Current plans also call for closer political cooperation in fighting international crime and drug trade and coordinating aid efforts to Eastern Europe, the Middle East and North Africa, but the accent will be firmly on economics and trade, officials say.

The ideas will be discussed on June 14 when President Jacques Chirac of France, which currently holds the EU presidency, and Jacques Santer, the president of the European Commission, meet with President Bill Clinton in Washington. The leaders were expected to call for consultations over the next six months to establish priorities for economic and political cooperation that would be approved at a summit meeting in Madrid in December.



INTERNATIONAL

Snipers Resume Sarajevo Siege

Terror Revisits Weary People

By Roger Cohen
New York Times Service

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — After more than three years of war, the lines of sniper fire are pretty well known here. But the Bosnian Serbs recently opened a new one, straight down the central Marshal Tito avenue, and have already displayed their new prowess.

A bullet smashed through the windshield of a white Volkswagen Golf, grazing the driver's eye. Sejla Krljicbegovic, 12, watched as the four men in the car crawled out and dashed for cover. A French armored personnel carrier rumbled out to cover the line of fire.

"I'm just waiting for my mummy to get home from work," the blue-eyed girl said in English. "I've seen so many people killed, and I'm so sorry I can do nothing for them."

It was early afternoon, and terror again gripped the people who believed for a time that the worst was over. A woman tried to run as she dragged a cart filled with containers of water; another hitched up her skirt as she dashed for cover; a man dragged some branches to burn as firewood; a Bosnian soldier clutched a guitar in one hand, a rifle in the other.

Muhamer Hramic, a police-

man, watched the mayhem. "We are very tired of this," he said. "My job is not to think. My job is to survive."

Beyond the international politics and diplomacy of the last two weeks, the UN hostages and the downed American plane, those are the facts.

Inside this surrounded European capital, about 300,000 exhausted people — dashing from snipers once again, dreading the shell's echoing boom — are more moved by the steeply rising prices of potatoes and candles than by talk of international rapid reaction forces. A candle now costs four dollars.

The French armored personnel carrier began a shuttle service across the avenue. Nobody dared cross, unless covered by the vehicle. An old woman tried to run to join one crossing. A French soldier, Thierry Barthege, told her to take it easy, he would wait for her.

"We protect people as much as we can," he said. "But that's about all that's left of our mission. This is total insanity."

The slow-moving vehicle seemed to sum up the utter plight of the UN mission here. The "safe area" of Sarajevo, established last year through a NATO ultimatum, has ceased to exist. The Serbs have taken back all their guns. There are



A worker for an international fire brigade reuniting a mother and child in front of a Sarajevo hospital Wednesday.

no constraints on shelling. The UN mission itself is so short of food it will start using rations on Thursday.

A Serb named Alexander, who did not want to give his family name, gazed at the people running. "We were so optimistic last year," he said. "It was enough for us to have water and electricity to be opti-

mistic. But now we've had it with everything."

Asked about the nationalist Serbs on the surrounding hills, he said: "Lunatics."

John Jordan, an American fireman from Rhode Island, arrived on the scene. He has been here three years. As the head of Global Operations Fire and Rescue Service, an

agency working for the United Nations. Having just watched his president on CNN, his mood was one of deep disgust, reflecting the bitterness and sense of abandonment that are shared by many in this city under siege.

"What just happened on this street is O.K.," he said. "It's O.K. with the folks in

Washington. I'm just here to put the wet stuff on the red stuff but I tell you, Bosnia has been an eye-opener for me in terms of understanding what my country stands for. This is a European city with a dirt trench around it and Serbian men with guns killing children on a regular basis. And that's O.K."

BOSNIA: As Shells Rain on Sarajevo, Serbs Release More UN Peacekeepers Taken Hostage

Continued from Page 1

encircled, mainly Muslim towns, the sanction has proved ineffective because the Serbs have a straightforward reprisal available — the seizure of UN peacekeepers as hostages.

This was well known prior to the latest NATO attacks on an ammunition depot near Pale on May 26 and May 27. But Clinton administration offi-

cials, who called strongly for the bombing, apparently believed they could call the Serbs bluff by continuing to escalate the use of force.

This resolve, however, melted away as soon as UN hostages were shown on television chained to potential targets. Even when an American plane on a routine NATO monitoring mission over Bosnia was shot down by the Serbs a few days

later, there was not even a hint of possible reprisal. It is still not known if the American pilot is alive or dead.

In exchange for the release of the hostages, the Serbs, who hold 70 percent of Bosnia after three years of war, have demanded a formal commitment from NATO and the United Nations that there will be no more air strikes.

NATO and the United Na-

tions have demanded unconditional release of the hostages. But a high-level UN delegation was dispatched Wednesday from Zagreb to Pale. Formally, its mission was to request access for UN aid to cities like Sarajevo, which are surrounded by the Serbs.

But at a time when hostages are still being held, the dispatch of the delegation gave the impression of a less than cast-iron

resolve on the part of the senior UN official here, Yasushi Akashi.

Of the hostages still being held, 13 are French, five British, 12 Canadian and the remaining 23 military observers of various nationalities, UN officials said. Of the peacekeepers who are confined, 59 are French and 34 Russian.

The United Nations still holds four Serbs in Sarajevo, who were captured during fighting last month. "They'll be quietly let go when the last United Nations peacekeeper is freed," one Western official said.

CANADA: Rightist Wave

Continued from Page 1

ty of Canada in the West in 1987, giving a voice to regional fears that the national government was spending too much and ruining the country into debt. His party became the third biggest vote-getter in the 1993 federal elections, which brought Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's Liberal Party to power.

Mr. Chrétien had not run on a belt-tightening platform, but in February he proposed one of the most austere budgets Canada had ever seen rather than anger voters by raising taxes.

Last week, poll figures showed that Mr. Chrétien is the most popular prime minister in Canadian history. In the province of Alberta, meanwhile, Premier Ralph Klein, a Conservative, has garnered praise and popularity for making drastic cuts in health and education spending that have balanced the provincial budget ahead of schedule.

In Ontario, particularly in the urban centers of Toronto and Ottawa, such slashes in the social safety net were long considered political anathema. Ontario has been the economic engine of Canada. Its auto and steel factories produce wealth that allowed for the largest welfare payments in the nation while still ensuring prosperity for most workers.

But the recessions of the late 1980s and early 1990s eroded not only Ontario's prosperity but also its economic security, and the willingness to be generous began to evaporate.

Still, for more than two years, Mr. Harris trailed the provincial Liberal leader, Lyn McLeod, in polls that regularly gave her 50 percent or more of the vote for the premiership. Only in the past few weeks has he pulled ahead.

Mr. Rae, the incumbent, is disliked by some for not doing enough to cut Ontario's \$5.5 billion budget deficit and \$70 billion debt and disliked by others for doing too much.

17-Story Plunge Kills Three

JOHANNESBURG — Three window cleaners were killed after plunging 17 stories when their rig fell from a high-rise building in central Johannesburg.

Kohl Gives PLO \$7.1 Million in Visit to Jericho

Reuters

JERICHO — Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany gave Yasser Arafat, the chairman of the PLO, 10 million Deutsche marks Wednesday during the first visit by a head of government to Jericho since the start of Palestinian self-rule a year ago.

Mr. Kohl is on a weeklong Middle East tour. At a news conference with Mr. Arafat, he said Germany was giving the money, equivalent to \$7.1 million, to the Palestine Liberation Organization as "symbolic assistance" that would be used to strengthen the administration and the administrative frameworks of the Palestinian authorities.

Calling Mr. Arafat "Mr. President," Mr. Kohl said through an interpreter: "I hope that our meeting will produce some benefits to the people in the area, and this is what makes my trip successful."

Mr. Kohl was the first head of government to meet Mr. Arafat in Jericho.

ISRAEL: Self-Rule Talks

Continued from Page 1

fat's cabinet, said in an interview that Israel still insisted on "creating Palestinian islands" by withdrawing from city centers and controlling all roads in and out.

"They will withdraw from Jenin, putting checkpoints at the entrances of Jenin, and then because of any act or any incident, they will close Jenin," Mr. Hussein said. "But Jenin is dependent on the villages around it. The Israelis must take into account that they are withdrawing from areas and not from cities."

Syrian-Israeli Progress

Israel, Syria and the Palestinians looked closer to peace on Wednesday with news that the Israeli and Syrian chiefs of staff would meet, and with an unusually cheerful end to a round of Palestinian self-rule talks, Reuters reported from Cairo.

President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, asked how Syrian-Israeli talks were going, said that the chiefs of staff would meet in the United States at the end of the month.

Israel and Syria agreed last month that military experts would hold talks in Washington, but neither side has said what the level of representation would be.

Israeli and Syrian chiefs of staff last met in Washington in December, before the talks broke down for lack of progress.

There was no immediate confirmation of Mr. Mubarak's remark from Israel or Syria, but Dennis Ross, a U.S. envoy in the Middle East to prepare for a tour by Mr. Christopher, saw the Syrian chief of staff, Lieutenant General Hikmat Shihabi, in Damascus on Tuesday.

White House Goes On the Offensive to Defend Bosnia Policy

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — The White House blasted Bob Dole on Wednesday for attacking President Bill Clinton's policy on Bosnia, saying a proposal by the Senate majority leader could bring a "significant involvement" of American forces in the former Yugoslavia.

Michael McCurry, the White House spokesman, also scolded administration officials who have blamed Mr. Clinton's national security adviser, W. Anthony Lake, for the administration's zigzagging policy on Bosnia.

"The president of the United States thinks they ought to knock it off," he said.

Mr. McCurry's comments came as the Senate Armed Services Committee opened hearings to examine the administration's policy on Bosnia.

He suggested that the news media examine Mr. Dole's call to end the arms embargo to the Muslim-led government in Bosnia. He said it would probably lead to U.S. forces being involved "on the ground in Bosnia in a much more dramatic and much more dangerous way."

Mr. McCurry said: "The president of the United States has taken an enormous amount of grief over Bosnia policy in the last couple of days. I haven't heard anyone ask those kinds of precise questions of Senator Dole." He added: "He shouldn't be let off the hook."

Mr. Dole, who is seeking the Republican presidential nomination, has said that the Bosnian government should be allowed to acquire the weapons it needs to defend itself against the Bosnian Serbs.

He has said he will offer a resolution in the Senate that would limit any U.S. force in Bosnia to aiding an evacuation of UN peacekeeping troops — and only then under certain conditions.

But Mr. McCurry said: "Europeans in that instance would deliver to us the sole responsibility for the consequences of lifting the arms embargo, including the necessity of training and equipping the Bosnian Muslims. The view of many in the military is that would be

very difficult to achieve without a significant involvement of U.S. forces on the ground in Bosnia."

Told that Mr. Dole contends the United States could leave it to others to equip and train the Bosnian government forces, Mr. McCurry said: "I presume he means we would let Iran do it." He added: "I guess he would prefer to see Iran establish a closer military relationship with the Bosnian Muslims."

At the Senate hearing, Defense Secretary William J. Perry said that pulling UN peacekeepers out of Bosnia would lead to a "humanitarian disaster."

With 1,500 U.S. soldiers heading for Italy, Mr. Perry and General John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, faced a battery of questions from skeptical senators anxious to avoid being drawn into war.

"We should be prepared to assist NATO in an emergency extraction of units whose positions had become untenable, to points of safety in Bosnia," Mr. Perry said, trying to clarify the administration's policy.

"But let me be clear on this: The United States will not become UNPROFOR's transportation service," he said, referring to the UN Protection Force.

Senator Strom Thurmond, Republican of South Carolina and chairman of the Armed Services Committee, said: "I hope you will reassure the committee and the American people that we are not being dragged into Bosnia in the wrong way, and for the wrong reasons."

The UN and NATO, Mr. Perry noted, have so far refused to withdraw the peacekeepers or wage war on the Bosnian Serbs. "Either of these choices would have led to a humanitarian disaster," he said.

Meanwhile, the speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich, said the United States could not tolerate UN forces being put at risk in Bosnia and should send a clear signal that it would "intervene decisively and with massive power" if they are in danger. (Reuters, AP)

TRADE: Misjudgment in Car War

Continued from Page 1

generational change in the bureaucracy in Tokyo that has brought in trade hard-liners worried that Japan's 40-year run of surging growth may be over.

In Tokyo, Japanese officials say they underestimated the political importance that the White House placed on proving that it would battle to expand American exports. Both sides agree that another critical element is missing: A back channel to allow straight talk between the political leaders.

In the fractured Japanese government, there is no one left to play that role. The senior politicians who felt indebted to the United States for rebuilding the country after World War II have either been forced from power or retired. In Washington, the State Department — which usually urges caution in trade disputes — has taken a back seat, realizing that these days, economic imperatives trump everything else.

"For the first time, it is really all right for Japan to say 'No, we're simply not going to give in,'" said a seasoned Japanese official. "We haven't felt that way before, and there is almost a euphoria about it. But what is missing are the safety valves."

For all their second thoughts, U.S. officials said they would have gone ahead anyway with the threat of the \$5.9 billion in

sanctions. But a few concede to being overoptimistic about how Japan would react to extreme foreign pressure.

Rather than force a fractured Japanese leadership to cave in, as Washington hoped, the sanctions have bolstered the influence of the most confrontational member of the Japanese cabinet, Ryutaro Hashimoto, the minister of international trade and industry.

"He tends to act like a big shot, that is his style," said Tsutomu Hata, a former prime minister and a political opponent of Mr. Hashimoto. "But fundamentally, everyone has to say that he is right on this, and the United States cannot take unilateral action when it doesn't like the results of our trade relations."

What has changed? The U.S. ambassador in Japan, Walter F. Mondale, said he thought that the answer might be found in the rise to power of a new generation of Japanese bureaucrats, who now argue that after decades of leaning toward America, the time has come for Japan to lean back toward the rest of Asia.

But the bureaucrats themselves say the crucial change is that they are no longer prepared to follow the lead of their predecessors, who usually gave in to Washington's pressure as the price for America's guarantee of Japan's security.

G-7: Leak Demystifies the Summit

Continued from Page 1

for the timely publication of key economic and financial data." It also demands that the IMF "insist on full and timely reporting by member countries of a standard set of data," that the IMF also provide "sharper policy advice to all governments and deliver franker messages" to countries that appear to be following bad economic policies.

"Don't underestimate the importance of increasing transparency and making more information available to financial markets," the G-7 official said.

Important as the need to avoid a new Mexican-style financial crisis may be, the contents of the Halifax communiqué also underscore the plodding nature of the G-7 itself.

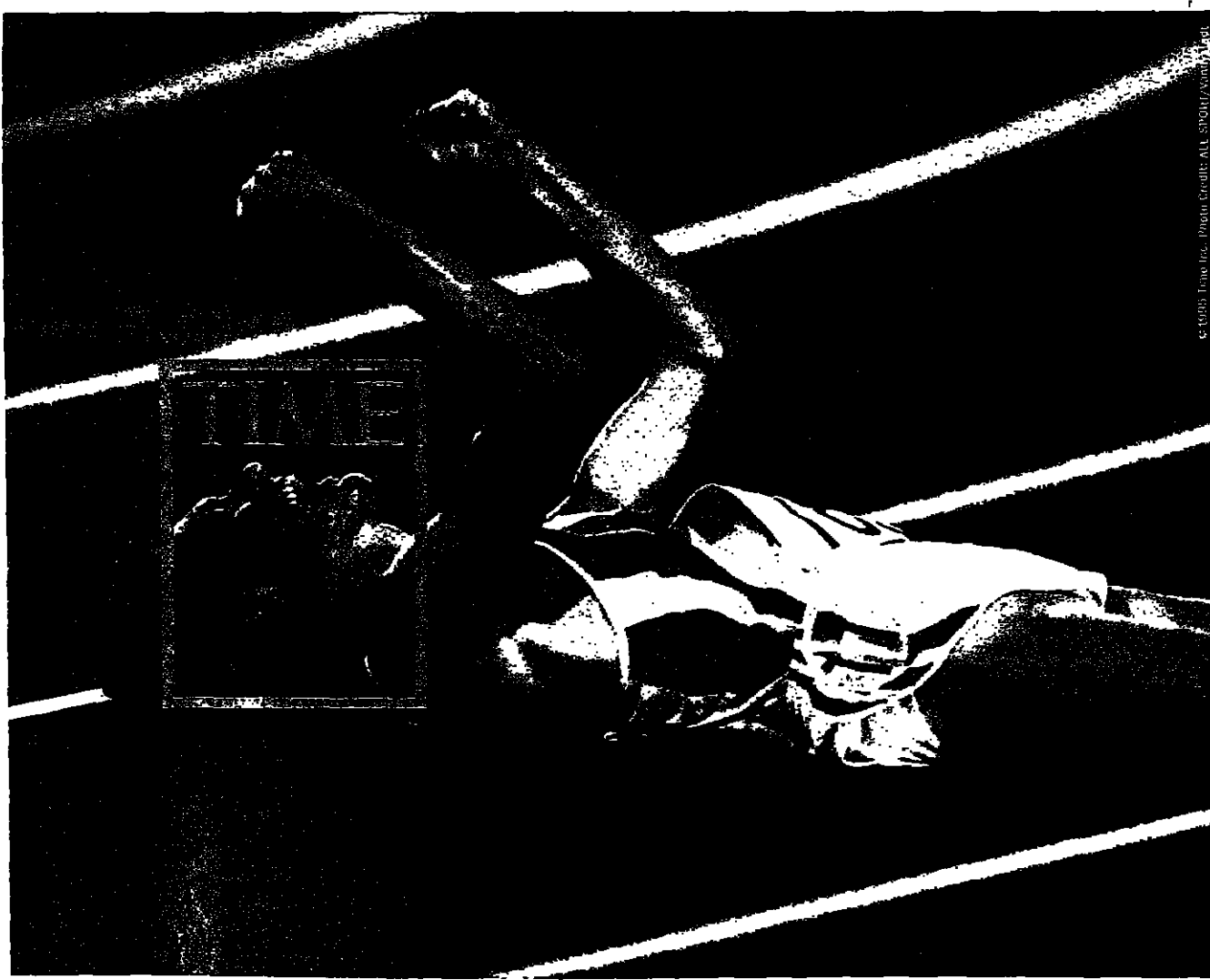
The G-7, for example, has found itself only occasionally able to surprise currency markets with coordinated actions, such as last week's effort to

prop up the dollar, and the effects of such interventions tend not to last very long.

The G-7 has been divided by disputes among its members. Germany, for example, was angry earlier this year that it was dragged into the Mexican rescue package by Washington, while the Bundesbank has been critical of the U.S. administration's economic policies.

The United States and Japan, meanwhile, remain locked in a bitter trade dispute, with the U.S. threat of \$5.9 billion of punitive tariffs on Japanese cars scheduled to go into effect June 28 if there is no deal before hand.

It was significant, therefore, that in one part of the draft communiqué — a section titled "Creating opportunities through trade" — there is not even a word, merely a notation that says, "New text to follow." This section of the draft announcement, officials said, was being held up by the U.S.-Japan trade dispute.



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INTERNATIONAL

EUROPEAN TOPICS

Germany Struggles To Fill Army Ranks

Growing anti-militarism among young Germans has left the Bundeswehr fighting an increasingly uphill battle to fill its ranks.

"The young people seem to think that military service is optional," said Bernhard Steimle, director of the recruitment center in Berlin, where the problem is particularly acute.

In all, reports the French daily Liberation, 28 percent of German conscripts last year filed for conscientious objector status. And in Berlin, said Matthias Mücke, leader of an anti-military group, nearly half of service-age men try to avoid the military.

Nor is it particularly hard to do so. Some 90 percent of young Germans who apply to do civilian rather than military service are allowed to do so. Anti-military groups circulate samples of the sort of letter needed to be accepted for alternative service. "Even

as a child I promised I would never hurt anyone" or "My mother forbade me to play at war."

The "penalty" for selecting civilian service is mild — 15 months' duty instead of 12. Many men opt for this not out of pacifist conviction but for a chance to avoid the rigors of military service while, with luck, remaining closer to home.

But pacifism is a real force.

Around Europe

Hostility toward Continental Europe is far stronger among the old than among the young in Britain. Only one-fifth of those aged 15 to 24 considered Europe to be a threat rather than an opportunity, while among those aged 55 to 64, 48 percent saw it as a threat. In all, 44 percent of the 1,921 people interviewed last month by the NOP polling organization viewed the European Union as more of an opportunity than a threat, while 35 percent saw it more as a threat.

Four Swedish bookstores have announced a "regret week" policy that will allow clients to return books they have read but disliked. The shops want people to take a chance on books, hopefully to

be pleasantly surprised. The daily Nya Tidningen in Uppsala reported. The returned books, which are resold at a reduced price, must be brought back within one week and in good condition.

The Concise Oxford English Dictionary is finally embracing political correctness. Indeed, "political correctness" is among 7,000 new words and phrases included in the latest edition, to be published next month (the dictionary defines it as "the avoidance of forms of expression that exclude, marginalize or insult racial or cultural minorities").

Newly recognized PC words include "ableism" ("discrimination in favor of able-bodied people") and "waitperson" ("used to avoid distinguishing between a waiter or a waitress").

Not everybody is happy about the trend. "The PC words are the ones I really deplore," Michael Plumb, vice chairman of the Queen's English Society, told The Sunday Telegraph. "They are imposed by a regime that is out of touch with what people really think."

Brian Knowlton

Iraqi Court Backs Terms Of U.S. Pair

Reuters

BAGHDAD — An Iraqi court said two Americans imprisoned for eight years for entering Iraq illegally should stay in jail, the government newspaper Al-Jumhuriya reported Wednesday.

It said the court of cassation had reaffirmed the sentences imposed by a criminal court, which convicted William Barloon, 39, and David Daliberti, 41, of crossing illegally from Kuwait in March.

The judge who originally tried the case told the newspaper that Iraq had no formal appeals court for such instances, but the court of cassation had backed him. He said he expected the Supreme Court to do the same.

The U.S. government insists that the two Americans, both employees of U.S. defense contractors, made a wrong turn across the border and should be freed. There has been no indication so far that Washington would agree to send an official to Baghdad to deal with the Iraqi government.

Signs of Hope for a Simpson Verdict

By David Margolick
New York Times Service

LOS ANGELES — One of two jurors dismissed from the O. J. Simpson case on Monday has indicated in interviews that virtually every seed of reasonable doubt the defense had tried to plant appears to have germinated in him.

But the sentiments of the juror, Willie P. Cravin, may also contain good news for Judge Lance A. Ito, the taxpayers of Los Angeles and a culture exhausted by the Simpson case.

Mr. Cravin has said the jurors, black, white and Hispanic, who were fairly or unfairly the racial flash points on the panel — accusing one another of kicking, stepping on or otherwise disrespecting one another — are gone. Those who remain, he predicted Tuesday, will work together well, and maybe even reach a verdict.

"Mostly all the women have a knitting

circle, and they weren't like that before," he said. "It seems like they all have something in common. That keeps them kind of all on the same wavelength. I don't think there's a lot of racial tensions now."

Mr. Cravin tried to compliment the prosecutors, saying that they had done a good job. But every time he elaborated, he sounded unimpressed with the case that they have built thus far against Mr. Simpson.

"He was still innocent," Mr. Cravin said, describing his feelings when he left the case. "Nobody had proven him guilty. There was nothing for him to sweat at that point."

Similarly, Mr. Cravin expressed some skepticism about defense theories of a police conspiracy to frame Mr. Simpson. But there was also a suggestion that the theories had made an impression on him.

He recounted how the police searched Mr. Simpson's house without a warrant and could not account for all of the

blood taken from him or for Detective Mark Fuhrman's whereabouts shortly before finding two crucial bloody gloves.

"There were a lot of things that went on that were questionable," Mr. Cravin said. "I really haven't come to a conclusion on that matter as of yet, but that was something that I was weighing on my mind."

Just as discouraging for prosecutors, Mr. Cravin, 54, a postal worker who maintained a grim, even glowering look at the trial, expressed doubts about the cornerstones of the state's case: that rage and jealousy bred in a bad marriage had led Mr. Simpson to kill his former wife and her friend and that the results of DNA tests proved it.

Mr. Cravin seemed to give short shrift to testimony about the Simpsons' marital woes, which the prosecution will soon supplement with additional witnesses. What he had heard did not sound unusual, he said, particularly for a celebrity whose every move is unfairly scrutinized.



Dr. Sathyavagiswaran demonstrating to Brian Kelberg how he believes Mrs. Simpson's fatal wound was inflicted.

Killer Was Right-Handed, Coroner Says

The Associated Press

LOS ANGELES — An attacker wielding a knife in the right hand killed Nicole Brown Simpson by slashing her throat after stabbing her several times in the neck and head, the Los Angeles county coroner testified Wednesday.

The coroner also told jurors in the O. J. Simpson case that the fatal wound to Mrs. Simpson's neck caused massive blood flow and relatively quick, but not instantaneous, death.

"I would say she died within a few minutes, probably much less than a minute," Dr. Lakshmanan Sathyavagiswaran said. "She would have gone into rapid shock with this massive injury."

The coroner said the first wound to Mrs. Simpson's neck, a stab that could have killed her without quick medical attention, may have been inflicted by an assailant standing face-to-face with her. Dr. Sathyavagiswaran demonstrated by facing the prosecutor Brian Kelberg

and lifting his right hand, as if holding a knife, near Mr. Kelberg's neck.

Other wounds to the neck also would not necessarily have been fatal had they been treated.

The coroner said Mrs. Simpson was on the ground with both hands on the walkway when an assailant pulled back her hair and cut her throat from ear to ear using the right hand. Mr. Simpson is right-handed.

"A right-handed person inflicts this injury — at least, a person used his right hand to inflict this injury," the coroner said. "The upward angle" of the wound "would support this scenario," he added.

It is possible, he affirmed, that the attacker knocked Mrs. Simpson unconscious, killed her friend, Ronald L. Goldman, then returned to Mrs. Simpson to slash her throat. Mr. Kelberg supported the theory by taking the coroner through a lengthy examination of a head wound that caused a bruise to Mrs. Simpson's brain but did not kill her.

Dr. Sathyavagiswaran said the bruise would have taken about a minute to form in a living person. The bruise could not have formed if Mrs. Simpson's neck had already been slashed because there would have been no blood pumping to create the bruise, he said.

Before the coroner took the stand for the third day, attorneys argued out of the presence of jurors about questions that can be asked of the next witness, Dr. Irwin Golden, who conducted the autopsies on Mr. Simpson's former wife and Mr. Goldman.

In an attempt to preempt the defense, Mr. Kelberg has emphasized the more than 30 mistakes Dr. Golden made while doing the autopsies in June 1994.

Earlier in the trial, Judge Lance A. Ito ruled that Dr. Golden could be questioned about two past autopsies where he acknowledged making mistakes. On Wednesday morning, he said cross-examination also could encompass one other examination.

U.K. Inquiry Critical on Tory Arms Sales

By Richard W. Stevenson
New York Times Service

LONDON — After spending more than two years investigating Britain's sale of military equipment to Iraq before the Gulf War, an independent judicial panel has found that leaders of the governing Conservative Party misled the public and Parliament about its arms-sales policies, although unknowingly in some cases.

The panel's draft report, portions of which have been leaked to the media over the last two days, said officials right up to former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher continued to insist that they were strictly adhering to a policy of not selling any equipment that could have military applications to either Iran or Iraq during the late 1980s even as the government was permitting some sales to Iraq.

The report mentions cases in which Prime Minister John Ma-

ior, while serving in a lower post, and Mrs. Thatcher signed misleading documents relating to the issue, though it largely excuses them on the grounds that they were not fully aware of the policy shift. Most of the criticism in the leaked passages was directed at William Waldegrave, now the agriculture secretary but who was a minister in the Foreign Office during the late 1980s.

Mr. Waldegrave, the report said, misled Parliament by repeatedly stating that the government had retained an even-handed policy against sales to Iran and Iraq when he was aware that the government had decided to be more flexible in considering sales to Iraq. Mr. Waldegrave denied that he had misled Parliament.

The full report is not expected until the fall, but leaked passages suggested that it could be a political time bomb for Prime Minister John Major.

"This latest leak confirms that a number of ministers, going right up to the top, were involved in a conspiracy of deceit," Robin Cook, the Labor Party's foreign policy spokesman, said Wednesday.

The judicial inquiry, headed by Sir Richard Scott, High Court judge, criticized the leaks and said that its final report might differ from the draft. The inquiry was established by Mr. Major but given full independence.

Mr. Major set up the inquiry after a highly publicized case in which the British government prosecuted the executives of a British-based company, Matrix Churchill, for selling machine tools to Iraq for use in making artillery fuses. The prosecution collapsed after the government admitted that it had known about the sales and approved.

In one case cited in the report, Mrs. Thatcher, while still in office in August 1989, wrote

a letter to an aerospace executive saying that an even-handed policy against sales to either country remained in force. The report said her statements "were not accurate."

Wednesday, Mrs. Thatcher's office released a letter from the inquiry saying that in the draft report, Sir Richard had gone on to say that "I do not think that Mrs. Thatcher can be blamed if, when signing the letter of 21 August 1989, she did not recall the implications of the reference to the guidelines" in the earlier Ministry of Defense document, which concentrated on a slightly different topic.

Ban Upheld on Military Gays

Reuters

LONDON — Britain's High Court upheld a ban on homosexuals in the armed forces on Wednesday by dismissing test case applications from three gay men and a lesbian.

BOOKS

WHAT THEY'RE READING

• Claude Terrail, owner of La Tour d'Argent in Paris, is reading "Histoires d'amour de l'Histoire de France, Volume 2" by Guy Breton.

"Breton chronicles the unpublished life and loves of General Boulanger and Madame de Bonnemain and of Félix Faure and Madame Steinhilber. These intrigues and the scandals are causing me sleepless nights!" (Margaret Kemp, IHT)



and noble truth in contrast to the convolutions and contentions of assimilation. But they do not. What and who is a Jew, what constitutes a Jewish identity, is precisely what is up for grabs at present. Rubin is silent here.

He is nearly silent and remarkably insular on an equally basic matter: that of the non-Jews, particularly in the United States, since 1945, who are in fact central to the whole story. Yet they barely appear. Rubin is highly critical of "intermarriage," for example. But he can think of it only as a fact of Jewish history, not as a transforming event in both Jewish and non-Jewish histories.

The book's deepest flaw is the assumption that society and identity are not matters of choice but part of the "natural, sole conceivable order." Only assimilating Jews, Rubin believes, failed to notice this fundamental truth. "And so," he writes in the context of 19th-century Europe, "in contrast to the majority group's members, for whom it was natural, patriotism for assimilating Jews was a matter of choice and, consequently, uncertainty." Thus, for Rubin, as for Moses Hess at the time, the patriotism natural to Jews is Jewish patriotism or Zionism.

This won't do. Patriotism, nationalism, indeed, nations themselves are no more natural than the dynasties and principalities they gradually supplanted or the forms to which the current world of nations is already giving way. Today, it seems, when virtually no one is assimilated, no one content, no one safe, assimilation and its discontents is no longer an exclusively Jewish story.

Paul Breines, a member of the history department at Brown University, wrote this for The New York Times.

ASSIMILATION AND ITS DISCONTENTS

By Barry Rubin. 333 pages. \$25. Times Books.

Reviewed by Paul Breines

BARRY RUBIN is angry at Jews who assimilate — Jews who, since the French Revolution and Napoleon made it possible for them to do so, have chosen to enter the "process of seeking integration in a larger society and increasingly taking one's ideas and customs from it."

I am an assimilating Jew, the sort Rubin wants to shame into returning, before vanishing, to the tribe and the true, Jewish selves we have supposedly forsaken. Frankly, I don't think Rubin understands us.

In spite of his broadly historical format and his recognition that, as intellectuals, artists and entertainers, assimilating Jews have been a creative and diverse lot, Rubin focuses on an invariant structure he finds at the core of the assimilationist psyche. From Moses Mendelssohn and Rachel Levy through Heinrich Heine, Alfred Dreyfus, Franz Kafka, Dorothy Parker and Ir-

ving Berlin, to Philip Roth, Lenny Bruce and Woody Allen, Rubin sees the same basic and bad escapist impulses at work.

His introduction acknowledges "a spectrum of assimilationist solutions," but Rubin doesn't take the idea seriously. As he himself notes a sentence later, "the ultimate result of ongoing assimilation is total assimilation through conversion, intermarriage, or fully entering another nation or ideological framework." It's the "ultimate result," "total assimilation," that holds Rubin's interest — and blinds him to so much.

Anxious because he fears that

assimilationists in America will blithely complete Hitler's effort to make the Jews disappear, Rubin doesn't even really wrestle with the fluidity and complexity, the surprising motions and the multidirectional circuits of what he aptly but inattentively refers to as "ongoing assimilation." Rubin introduces the awkward but at least pliable notion of "semiasimilated Jews" only in his final chapter and then abruptly and without any discussion. But since this notion throws into disarray his entire polemic against total assimilation as the inevitable result of any assimilation, his failure to reflect on it is not surprising. Nor does he have much to say about alternatives to assimilation. References to "self-affirming Jews" recur but seem recurrently vacant since he never really thinks them through.

In this connection, the book's cover is interesting. On it, beneath Rubin's name and the title, which is borrowed from Freud's "Civilization and Its Discontents," there sits, starkly, in lower case, the single word "Jew." Heavy, somehow ominous, this is also manipulative, as if the mere invocation of the word "Jew" or the expression "self-affirming Jew" expressed a simple, basic

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

GIORGIO BELLADONNA one of the greatest bridge players of all time died in May. As a member of the Blue Team, he won 16 world team titles between 1957 and 1975.

Belladonna, a cheerful extrovert, was normally unflappable at the table, but he was in shock early in the 1959 world team championship in New York: he discovered that he had committed a trivial revoke, and as a result he went down four tricks in an easy game contract. In the next session, he got his revenge.

In one room, the American North-South stopped in four spades and made an overtrick, which appeared to be a good result. There was a good chance that Italy would bid a slam and fail: six no-trump, six spades and six clubs would all be doomed by a diamond lead.

But Walter Avarilli and Belladonna reached an unlikely contract of six hearts, and that proved unbeatable. Belladonna won the diamond lead in his hand and crossed to the spade ace. He then led three top clubs, putting East to the test. That

player did the best he could by ruffing with the heart ten, but South was in control. He overruffed with the heart king, threw a diamond from dummy on the spade king, and led the heart eight for a finesse against the nine.

East took the ace, and there was no defense. Dummy made the remaining tricks, and Italy gained a slam swing en route to the world title.

NORTH
♠ A Q J 7 5
♥ 6 5
♦ A K Q 8 4
♣ A K 9 8 4

WEST
♠ 10 9 5 3
♥ 9 4 2
♦ K 8 7
♣ 7 6 5

EAST (D)
♠ 8 4
♥ A 10 3
♦ Q J 10 4 3 2
♣ J 10

SOUTH
♠ K Q J 7 6 2
♥ K 8 6
♦ A 9
♣ 3 2

Neither side was vulnerable. The bidding:
East: South: West: North:
2♣ 3♠ 3♥ 4♠
Pass 4♥ Pass 4♠
Pass 5NT Pass 6♥
Pass Pass Pass

West led the diamond seven.

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EDITORIALS/OPINION

INTERNATIONAL
Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

Attacking the Cali Cartel

When it comes to feeding the habit of the drug-consuming United States, no foreign supplier has managed to achieve the deadly success of the Colombia-based Cali cartel. America is drenched with a poison called cocaine, 80 percent of which is produced and smuggled into the country by the Cali cartel. That horrific problem is compounded by the cartel's increasing use of murder as a management tool.

In what the U.S. attorney for southern Florida has called "the single most significant prosecution in history against the Cali cartel," a federal indictment was handed up this week in Miami naming 62 people in a broad racketeering case. Among the indicted are three defense attorneys, all of whom were former federal prosecutors. Included among them is Michael Abbett, a local attorney and former top-ranking Justice Department official who once worked in behalf of the United States against the Cali cartel.

The indictment charges these lawyers with a host of crimes not usually associated with officers of the court, especially former federal prosecutors. One former assistant U.S. attorney in Florida has already pleaded guilty to money laundering. The others face charges that run the gamut from drug conspiracy and racketeering to obstruction of justice.

It is important to note that these are only charges, not established facts. The government has the burden of proving its case. But there is no mistaking the gravity of the charges against these former federal officials who occupied positions of trust and responsibility. They stand accused of going beyond the bounds of their profession to aid a vicious drug cartel in the corruption of the legal system and the commission of crimes. Not indictable, but no less morally squalid is the possibility that these lawyers used the insights and experience they gained as federal officials to help the Cali cartel get wise to the workings of U.S. law enforcement.

Some members of the criminal defense bar have expressed concern that the government's indictments pose a serious threat to defense attorneys who zealously protect the interests of their clients, especially clients who are unpopular or reprehensible. The government's case states otherwise. Deputy Attorney General Jamie Gorelick said the indicted attorneys "crossed the line by 'corrupting the legal system for the benefit of one or two individuals and the operation and vast wealth of one of the largest drug-trafficking organizations in the world.' A devastating charge, if proven true.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

The Takeover in Chicago

Henry Cisneros, the U.S. secretary of housing and urban development, has assumed control of Chicago's public housing authority and announced ambitious plans for revitalizing the most dangerous and disreputable public housing system in the country. The takeover, the largest yet by the federal government, marks a significant test for Mr. Cisneros and his department.

Known for its violent housing projects and intractable bureaucracy, the Chicago Housing Authority has defeated its recent chairman, Vincent Lane, an earnest reformer with limited management skills. Mr. Lane's efforts to reshape the Housing Authority made so many enemies that he was given a police escort and a bulletproof vest. The takeover came just after he and the authority's board resigned en masse, imploring the government to lend its muscle to the problem.

Chicago's violent islands of poverty did not come into being by accident. As the columnist Mike Royko points out in "Boss," his biography of former Mayor Richard J. Daley, the projects sprang directly from City Hall's active resistance to integration. "Containing the Negro was unspoken city policy," Mr. Royko writes. "Even expressways were planned as man-made barriers... ghetto walls." Mayor Daley didn't invent the strategy, but some would say he perfected it.

Plans for scattered public housing outside the ghetto were quietly scuttled. In-

stead, mammoth housing projects went up along a lengthy stretch of South State Street, as Chicago began to put together the largest contiguous ghettos in the country.

For many years, the housing authority was a plantation run by machine politicians — and easy pickings for maintenance contractors who siphoned off federal funds while permitting the buildings to fall into horrific decay. Four generations of Chicagoans in public housing have grown up cut off from the city proper, isolated in such projects. Of the 15 poorest neighborhoods in America, 11 are Chicago public housing communities.

The federal government will now attempt to dismantle Chicago's man-made centers of poverty. Mr. Cisneros plans to gather his ablest managers to shore up the housing authority's staff and create new operating systems. He then wants to demolish vacant authority buildings and replace them with low-rise, mixed-income developments — things that Mr. Lane also wanted but was prevented from doing, either because of local resistance or HUD's own regulations.

Mr. Cisneros faces treacherous local politics and 100,000 deeply suspicious tenants. But if the takeover succeeds, he will have improved the stature of public housing nationally — and begun to dispense with Boss Daley's most troubling legacy to Chicago.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Disabled Children in Danger

The U.S. Senate will soon decide whether to follow the lead of the House and slash aid for disabled children. Republican leaders in the House and Senate charge that the Supplemental Security Income program — which provides up to about \$450 a month for disabled children from poor families — is riddled with abuse. They propose stiffer requirements that could drive out nearly 300,000 of the 900,000 children who are currently enrolled.

Accusations that the program pays cash to children not in need are based on anecdotes that tell of parents coaching their children to fake mental disabilities. But a study by the nonpartisan General Accounting Office has uncovered no systematic abuse. Eligibility rules could be tightened to eliminate mistakes. But there is no justification for widespread evictions.

The Republican backlash against the program has been triggered by soaring enrollments since 1990.

Some of the increase can be traced to a Supreme Court decision that sensibly eased eligibility standards. The government had in effect based eligibility solely on a checklist of severe physical and mental conditions. But such a checklist could exclude children whose disabilities, though just as impairing, were due to a combination of less severe problems. A dysfunctional child with very low IQ (but not meeting the criteria for retarded) and diabetes (but not recently hospitalized) and partial paralysis (but not bound to a wheelchair) could be ineligible because no one condition was on the government's checklist of severe disabilities. The court insisted that the government assess each applicant's ability to function.

The House-passed bill would eliminate almost all cash assistance on the unwarranted assumption that disabled children

need only government-provided services, such as prescription drugs. But disabled children have unusual needs that federal programs do not address, such as modified living quarters, special utensils and clothing.

Many parents of disabled children need to stay at home, thereby losing earnings. The bill before the Senate would continue cash assistance for these needy parents. But it adopts language that threatens to eliminate eligibility through individual assessments. Without studies showing widespread abuse, the Senate bill could kick nearly a third of current enrollees off the program.

The Senate should turn instead to a responsible bipartisan bill, sponsored by Kent Conrad, Democrat of North Dakota, and John Chafee, Republican of Rhode Island. It would preserve individual assessments but tighten eligibility rules.

The bill would, for example, eliminate "maladaptive behavior" as a qualification because the diagnosis has allegedly been applied to children who are simply unruly. The Conrad-Chafee bill would also require periodic reviews of enrollees.

A study by researchers at George Washington University shows that SSI enrollments are no longer skyrocketing, now that the impact of the court decision and new mental health regulations have taken hold. Major overhaul of the program is unnecessary.

According to one study, perhaps between 40,000 and 80,000 children, out of about 900,000, would be ruled ineligible by tough but fair standards. That suggests Congress should tinker with the rules, but not strip SSI support from hundreds of thousands of desperately sick children.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LOS ANGELES — The unrestricted movement of money and jobs does not benefit all nations equally. There are winners and losers. In relations with its Cold War allies, like Japan, the United States has been a loser. The people of strong nations do not like to be losers, even in the name of internationalism.

Nor does every country that sings the praises of the market play by the rules. The United States sucks in goods from all over the world — even at the cost of throwing Americans out of jobs — on the ground that Americans have a right to buy whatever they please at the cheapest price.

The Japanese, however, while profiting from America's open doors, are opposed to opening theirs — as is indicated by the current impasse over Japanese barriers to U.S. auto parts. The Japanese believe in production, not consumption; in full employment, not cheap imports. They like America's rules as exporters, but play by their own as importers.

Even if economists do not mind the loss of blue-collar jobs, the so-called redundant workers do. Falling incomes and insecurity provoke tension and bitterness. When people feel disenfranchised and disempowered, when there are ever-fewer jobs for blue-collar workers, when factory workers are forced to flip hamburgers to pay the bills, they will make their anger felt. They will do this at the polls, or even violently.

The nation-state, for all the crimes com-

By Ronald Steel

This is the second of two articles.

mitted in its name, is still the primary source of loyalty for most people. Although there is an international market and the rudiments of what could be called a global culture, there is no such thing as an international loyalty. No one gets a lump in his throat standing before the blue-and-white United Nations flag.

Those who call themselves internationalists have not fully faced the problem of linking domestic needs to presumed foreign policy interests. They seem to assume that the Cold War consensus — which called for the dominance of foreign policy over domestic policy — can be carried over into a totally different era. The most vociferous of the internationalists say that Americans must take sides in a Balkan civil war to show that they are good internationalists. They casually dismiss their critics as "isolationists," hoping that the epithet alone will send them scurrying for cover.

That accusation is not only hyperbolic but ineffectual. There is no serious support for isolationism in America, and has been none for 50 years. There is unlikely to be any unless foreign policy elites succeed, by seeming to sacrifice domestic concerns to free trade internationalism that those countries themselves do not practice. A nation that is unwilling or unable to protect its own workers because it is shackled to such

United States: It is a simple reality. But it is not the only force at play. While in one sense the world is becoming smaller and more integrated, it is also growing more divided. Traditional cultural and economic barriers, particularly among trained and privileged elites, are being eroded.

Yet there is also a reversion to earlier patterns of international life, regional coalitions, power balances, spheres of influence and conflicts among tribes and faiths. The fragmentation of what recently seemed a politically stable, if divided, world is a hallmark of our times.

If internationalism is to command support it must be not as an alternative to nationalism, but as a supplement to it. Peoples will not switch their loyalties from the nation-states with which they identify to international organizations they cannot control and view as hostile to their interests. Internationalism can marshal respect only if it is seen as a way of achieving, or at least not impeding, national objectives.

Those objectives are not what they were during the Cold War. The American public cannot be expected to continue to permit Cold War allies such as Japan and South Korea, or anti-Soviet partners of convenience such as China, to decimate America's own industrial base in the name of a free trade internationalism that those countries themselves do not practice. A nation that is unwilling or unable to protect its own workers because it is shackled to such

intellectual abstractions as open markets and the unrestricted export of money and jobs, is a nation doomed to internal strife and second-class status.

An enlightened American nationalism will put a higher priority on the protection of American jobs than on helping corporations move their factories abroad in pursuit of cheap labor. It will not plunge the United States into distant wars it does not understand and cannot resolve, and where its own interests are not involved. It will stop providing free military protection for its economic rivals in order to maintain the illusion that it thereby preserves its status as "superpower." There is a more accurate description for that role: unpaid security guard.

Internationalism should not be viewed, like charity, as a badge of good intentions. Nor is it, like empathy, an absolute good in itself. It is simply a method to advance the interests of people organized into national societies under particular circumstances. Where it does this it will be embraced. Where it does not, all the pious proclamations in the world will not save it.

The writer, a professor of international relations at the University of Southern California, is author of "Temptations of a Superpower." A longer version of this article, which was excerpted by The Washington Post, will appear in World Policy Journal.

Clinton in the Soup: The Painful Folly of U.S. Policy-Making

By William Pfaff

PARIS — The current conduct of America's foreign relations recalls the battle scene in the Marx Brothers' "Duck Soup" — everyone firing in a different direction, reappearing in each cut in a different uniform.

President Bill Clinton makes a convincing Zeppo, the superfluous juvenile, and Newt Gingrich can be cast as Groucho, purveyor of crazed schemes. I see Jimmy

It might almost be funny if it weren't so deadly serious.

Carter as Harpo and Mickey Kantor as the deal-cutting Chico. Jesse Helms could play the brothers' auxiliary, Edgar Buchanan, master of the "slow burn."

Each of these characters conveys a part of America's foreign policy. Senator Helms seems in charge of the State Department itself, while the Republican majority in Congress decides what countries the United States recognizes, where the embassies are to be located, and who is to be boycotted or appeased.

Mr. Clinton is in charge of contradictions and reversals, as demonstrated again by his derisive performance on the issue of U.S. ground intervention or nonintervention in ex-Yugoslavia.

If all this merely made the country a subject of ridicule, it would be embarrassing but survivable. But it is of course dangerous, and is not simply the product of Mr. Clinton's inadequacies and the rampant electoralism of Congress. It displays the incoherence of public opinion itself, which has lost all but episodic interest in international affairs, with even the elites who managed foreign policy in the past no longer agreed on what the country should do.

A new book by Ronald Steel, "Temptations of a Superpower," recommends what Mr. Steel calls "splendid isolation." He says that the United States should emulate Britain in the 19th century, when it was "unquestionably first among only potential equals," engaged only when and where its own interests were at stake.

Henry Kissinger wants a new trans-Atlantic alliance of the United States with Britain and Ger-

many, accompanied by a free-trade zone encompassing the European Union and the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Dean Acheson's biographer James Chace argues that a new global economic strategy must be linked to security strategy, just as the postwar Bretton Woods agreements paralleled the security structure being built up in NATO. He favors a trans-Atlantic trade alliance, with Japan associated, and an eventual global trading union and world currency. Canada's government already has proposed a trans-Atlantic free-trade zone.

I do not myself think any of this feasible in the foreseeable future, and am skeptical in particular of the practicality or even desirability of trans-Atlantic or globalized trading systems and internationalized currencies. It will be achievement enough if Europe can agree on a single currency.

These contradictory proposals seem to me evidence that the United States will actually continue along its present course, which is unilaterally to pursue a narrowly conceived national advantage. This is what it already is doing

with respect to Japan, Bosnia, Russia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, and Mexico — the current objects of Washington's fiftful attentions. This appeases domestic political pressures and can produce short-term results, which is what the public is conditioned to expect.

The long-term consequences are another matter, but, like the deficit, can be shifted onward to the nation's children. The thrust of this policy (by default) tends naturally toward isolationism and to America's isolation, to the extent that national isolation is possible in a world of interacting economies, markets and communications.

U.S. initiatives in recent months fit this pattern. Washington's panic about North Korea's nuclear ambitions, insistence upon ongoing sanctions on Iraq, and demand for a trade embargo on Iran, have all failed, while provoking much irritation abroad.

Its unilateral trade reprisals against Japan and unilateral negotiations with Russia (to which even Britain objected) over NATO's expansion, at the same time congressional calls were heard to vitiate that expansion by stripping from NATO membership its present guarantee of automatic mu-

nual defense, have demonstrated a search for real or imagined advantage in disregard of everyone else. So, of course, has its Bosnia nonpolicy, and its veto of UN objections to Israel's expropriation of Arab land in Jerusalem.

All this has been disruptive of alliance relations, and no one in the administration or Congress seems really to care. This, I fear, is going to continue, whether Mr. Clinton succeeds himself or is replaced by any of the leading Republican candidates for his job.

It leads us back toward the emotional and political isolation of the United States in the 1920s and 1930s, but adds something. It provokes hostility. America increasingly is regarded by its allies as something of a menace — at best as erratic and irresponsible.

The recommendations of Ronald Steel, Henry Kissinger, James Chace, and others, all assume a continuing American capacity for large visions, disinterested action, and generosity. None of these qualities are evident on the political scene today, nor do they look like arriving with any new administration.

International Herald Tribune.
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The Bosnians Aside, You Simply Don't Abandon Your Allies

By Thomas L. Friedman

LONDON — On the eve of the Gulf War, I was a reporter on Secretary of State James Baker's last trip to line up allies to fight Iraq. His last stop was London. As we were waiting to board the secretary's plane at Heathrow Airport, I fell into conversation with a British policeman. He asked me: "So, who's going to fight?" And before I could answer, the policeman answered his own question: "I guess in the end it will be you and us."

That conversation always stuck in my mind. I could never imagine having such a talk with a German or Japanese or Russian policeman, but it seemed perfectly natural in London. It was just understood that we were allies and in the crunch allies count on allies and the Gulf War was such a crunch.

I've been thinking about that conversation as I have watched from London the shameful way the Clinton administration and the Republican-led Congress have been dealing with America's allies over Bosnia.

Let's be clear: Good friends are hard to find in the post-Cold War world. The Soviets are not around to threaten the West into an ar-

ificial solidarity. That is why America still may be a member of different alliances in Europe and Asia, but it has only a few real allies left, countries it can count on in a pinch to back it up. Britain, and to a lesser extent France, are those allies.

U.S. officials say that dating back to the Bush administration, Washington, privately, has made it clear to Britain and France that if they ever really find themselves in trouble in Bosnia, the United States will help get them out — as allies do. And that is why President Bill

Clinton's flip-flopping on these commitments is so damaging. First Mr. Clinton declared that U.S. troops would be ready to help America's allies redeploy their forces in Bosnia to more defensible and strengthened positions — if they requested such temporary help. In the face of a Republican-led outcry, Mr. Clinton "clarified" that what he really meant was that U.S. troops could only be used for an "emergency extraction" of allied forces and that he would consult Congress before acting. You can imagine how reassuring it is for America's allies to know that if their troops are trapped in Bosnia, Bill Clinton will be happy to help rescue them, provided that he first gets the permission of Senator Jesse Helms.

No wonder The Times of London thundered in its Monday editorial that while Mr. Clinton's initial offer showed that he was "now genuinely worried about appearing to leave America's close allies in the lurch in Bosnia, as so often with this most changeable of presidents, his latest wish of resolve evaporated halfway down Pennsylvania Avenue, blown away by congressional muttering."

Raymond Seitz, recently retired as U.S. ambassador to Britain, said that this "conveys to the Europeans that this administration is utterly unreliable and adolescent. Sure, it has to take domestic poli-

tics into account. But the real test is taking those domestic pressures into account and still finding some room for your allies, because you will be asking them to do the same for you one day."

Here the Republicans are also to blame. They have deliberately and cynically blown out of all proportion the president's initial offer to temporarily deploy U.S. troops to Bosnia to help reposition or extract the allies. But what is sad is that Mr. Clinton, instead of taking on his critics, ran for cover.

I don't give two cents about Bosnia. Not two cents. The people there have brought on their own troubles. But I do feel loyalty to the allies who have put their own troops into harm's way to try to limit the human suffering there.

The Bosnians will come and go, but good friends whom Americans can count on for solving problems that really do involve the U.S. national interest are hard to find. You don't tell your friends that if they get stuck in the Balkan quagmire we will hold a congressional debate about rescuing them. You tell them only one thing: "We'll help get you out. You can count on us."

Anyone who thinks that the American people wouldn't respond favorably to that kind of leadership doesn't know the American people.

The New York Times.

Basketball, America's New Passion

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — Cher Philippe: Sorry to be slow answering your letter. I'll fill you in on Newt. Bill, the reaction here to your election Jacques Chirac as your new president, and the rest, another time. Those things are not on my screen right now. On my screen right now is basketball.

The basket? I hear you asking in astonishment, horror or both. Well, yes, I should perhaps apologize: After all, for years I told you that a leading Americanologist like you had to understand baseball. *Le passe-temps national*, to really understand American character and temperament. But things change, Philippe, things change.

Pay attention as I introduce you to the post-Cold War, post-baseball world of America. The background: This week the Houston Rockets (*les Fuseses d'Houston*) battle the Orlando Magic (*la Magie d'Orlando*) for the National Basketball Association title. Their best-of-seven showdown crowns a set of playoff games as exciting, emotional and volatile as any sporting championship I can remember. Led by agile 7-foot giants, these teams have conquered Chicago's *Taureaux*, Indiana's *Coueurs*, les *Eperons* of San Antonio and other worthy challengers.

Timing is everything, in basketball as in journalism and love. The whirlwind of constant reversals of fortune, the rollercoaster of passions and loyalties a close game unleashes, the ability of a brilliant player like Michael Jordan or Reggie Miller to rewrite in seconds a script seemingly carved in stone — these combine to make professional basketball a sporting metaphor for the unpredictable, fragmented and rapidly shifting world we now inhabit.

Truth 34 times a second — that was the formula for great movies uttered by your Jean-Luc Godard, back when he made great movies. Think of basketball in the same way, only different.

Godard meant that a projector feeds through 24 frames of film every second to produce the appearance of motion on the movie screen. Basketball is grace under pressure 120 or more times a game. A team has to shoot the ball every 24 seconds for 43 sustained minutes.

With the clock ticking, this contest pits height and strength against the elegance of a gossamer

arc traced in the air by a spinning ball. Baseball expands and softens our spirits. Basketball compresses and intensifies them. In its quickness and resolution, pro basketball is the sport of our time and a sport for our time, able to occupy our fragmented national attention span.

Full of languor, baseball stretches time out to a distant point that does not need to be addressed now. Character — the necessary raw material of sport — emerges over a long sun-filled American summer, slowly permeating our collective consciousness in forms that resist change.

Americans had the time and the attention span for baseball back when you were at university here. But several decades ago something altered our sense of rhythm. We began to shift allegiance from baseball, a game in which athletes tested each other in the spring and summer so they could excel or fail in early autumn.

We switched to pro football and its faster and more violent rhythms, at first played out in short brutal bursts on a dozen or so Sunday afternoons. But like a good little bistro that becomes a tourist trap, pro football has expanded to the point of becoming unwieldy. Too many cities, too many teams, too many specialists, too many games in a season that goes on and on and on.

The superstructure (as the Marxists at the Sorbonne would put it) of basketball responds more directly to America's disorderly ethos. A basketball game is a narrative often told by a single individual, a Jordan or a Miller, or this year, when the big and strong prevailed over the flashy and fast, a Shaquille O'Neal or a Hakeem Olajuwon. With only five starting players on a team, one individual most often sets a clear story line for the game. Success or failure is immediate, clear and personal.

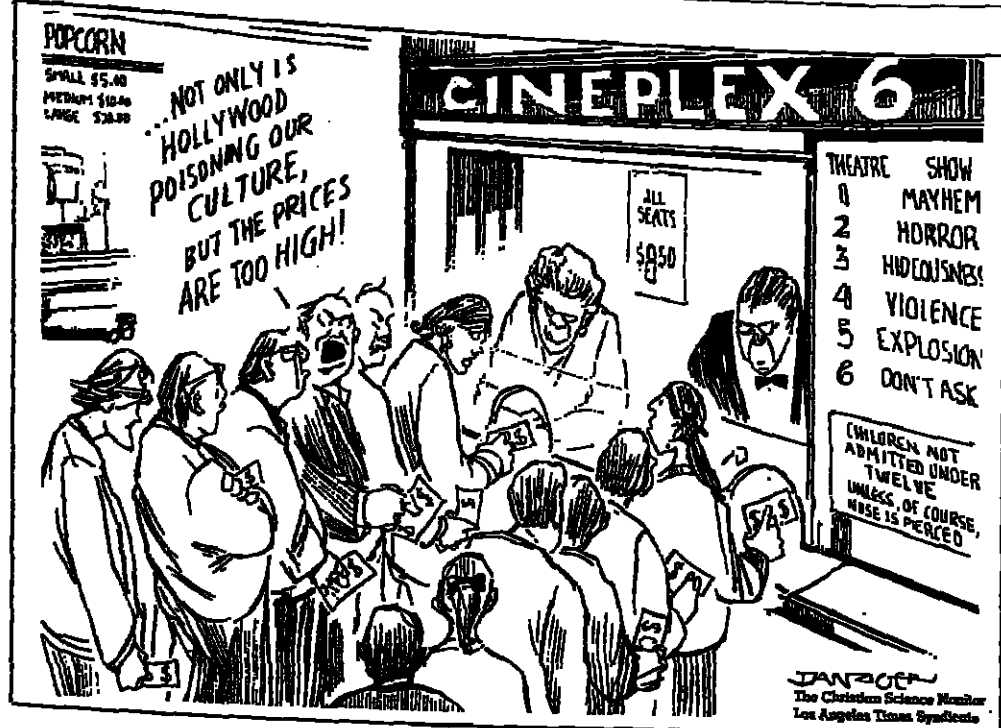
Yes, cher ami, I am describing that most eternal of American values: star quality. On the hardwood court these basketball players seem to be in control of their destiny, and command our admiration.

Keep that American appetite for star quality in mind as you track our politics through November 1996. If sport is in fact a guide to the American psyche, watch Newt and Colin, as well as Bill. They alone in the current field seem to understand destiny, and narrative.

The Washington Post.

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OPINION/LETTERS



Rules for the 1996 Moral Debate

WASHINGTON — That was strong stuff from Bob Dole about Hollywood last week. "Those who cultivate moral confusion for profit should understand this: We will name their names and shame them as they deserve to be shamed," he declared.

Specifically going after the executives of Time Warner, Mr. Dole, the Senate majority leader, offered this powerful marriage of Cotton Mather's morals and Ralph Nader's economics: "You have sold your souls," he said, "but must you debase our nation and threaten our children for the sake of corporate profits?"

It is refreshing to hear a politician speaking eloquently about a serious issue, and this one is. In the case of Time Warner, the senator was jumping on a bandwagon that was already rolling, thanks to the work of former Education Secretary William Bennett and C. Dolores Tucker, the head of the National Political Congress of Black Women and a longtime Democratic Party activist.

Mr. Bennett and Ms. Tucker had targeted some of the company's rap music line, and they picked a very good target. To call the lyrics in question disgusting is way too mild. It is not just the obscene words, either, or the explicit sexuality. Mr. Bennett and Ms. Tucker are going after "songs" that degrade women and glorify rape, brutality and violence. Neither of them is talking about government censorship. Mr. Bennett explicitly acknowledges the right of people to say and publish awful things. He and Ms. Tucker are simply suggesting that corporate executives should think twice before foisting trash on the marketplace. Ms. Tucker's involvement is a reminder to liberals that concerns about the coarsening of the culture are not confined to the religious right. "African American women," she told Newsweek magazine, "got tired of their children calling them 'hos, bitches and sluts.'"

But when a moral issue crosses over from being the object of a bipartisan citizens' campaign to being a major tactical move in a presidential campaign, certain questions arise. It was striking, for example, that Mr. Dole's cam-

By E.J. Dionne Jr.

paign staff had a lot of survey data at the ready to explain why this was such a brilliant ploy. "From polling and focus groups, Dole advisers knew the potency of the attack, and to draw additional attention, they beefed up the specifics," Dan Balz and Thomas Edsall reported in The Washington Post.

Mr. Dole is hardly the first candidate to conduct polls testing the impact of "themes" and "messages." Nor is he the first to have aides eager to explain the calculations that went into what on its face looked like a principled stand. But learning these things does take something away from a statement steeped in moral rectitude.

There is also the issue raised by Phil Kuntz in The Wall Street Journal: that the butt of Mr. Dole's attacks happen to be big-time Democrats — and large contributors to the Democratic Party. Mr. Dole also went out of his way to praise a movie called "True Lies" as "friendly to the family." As Mr. Kuntz noted, "True Lies" was produced by a studio controlled by Rupert Murdoch, a key Republican ally. Yet the movie includes a striptease scene that has been widely criticized as degrading to women.

The moral issues Mr. Dole raised in his speech are serious and worth talking about. But politicians who want to get into the moral argument had better be in it for more than quick hits. Politicians also have to be consistent about the broader issues involved in criticizing someone else's use of free speech. Can someone please explain to me if there is any objective difference between Gordon Liddy talking about how to shoot an agent of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, and a "gangsta" rapper who talks about shooting a cop? If you speak out against one, should you not speak out against the other?

The most powerful form of moral witness is when people speak out against what are perceived to be their own interests and predispositions — when conservatives criticize Mr. Liddy and liberals criticize rap lyrics, when Democrats criticize Time Warner and Repub-

licans criticize Rupert Murdoch. If a big moral debate is destined to be part of the 1996 campaign, that is the test to apply. The rest you can write off as coming out of the polling and focus groups.

The Washington Post.

Foolishly Abridging the Verse on the Airport Wall

By Stephen Jay Gould

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts — Arriving home from Europe, I noticed a large granite plaque in the International Arrivals Building of John F. Kennedy Airport.

As a welcome testimony to continuity between older and modern means of immigration, the plaque carries, in large gold letters, the words of

MEANWHILE

Emma Lazarus's famous poem, "The New Colossus," inscribed on the Statue of Liberty:

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free...

Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

Now I am a member of the last generation of New York City children schooled in the discipline of rote memorization. We all learned the poem — and who can forget a drill engraved into the brain at age 9 or 10?

So I knew that something was missing — as the three dots indicated honestly enough.

I scanned my mental file and came up with the missing material — not a raft of words excusably omitted for lack of space but one single line, with all the room in the world for it: The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.

Reinsert the absent line, and the poem

has balance. Only now does it rhyme and scan properly. More vitally, it now represents what Emma Lazarus wrote — for posterity.

The language police triumph, and integrity bleeds. We may call people "homeless" and "tempest-tossed," but they may not be, even with poetic license. "Wretched refuse."

Did these particular police ever hear of metaphor?

Did they consider that the poet might have been describing the attitudes of ruling classes in foreign lands toward their potential emigrants? Play it safe and destroy poetry.

At La Guardia Airport, in the wonderful Art Deco Marine Air Terminal, which now houses the Delta shuttle but was once the home of Pan America's fabled flying boats, a stunning mural stretches a full 360 degrees around the inner wall of the rotunda.

Titled "Flight," and painted in the early 1940s by James Brooks, under the auspices of the New York City Works Progress Administration Art Project, this mural treats the history of human aviation — from the early failure of Icarus, through the unworkable dreams and schemes of Leonardo, to modern aircraft.

The mural is quite apolitical — beyond its message of progressive technology triumphant — but many of the

figures are depicted as strong and muscular workers, following a tradition of the time, and admittedly in tune with a genre that usually carried leftist political messages.

In 1952, in the midst of McCarthyite hysteria, the thought police decided that the mural was "socialist." Ironically, they were most offended by a large figure of a man with his head in the clouds. But the figure is a priest, or at least friendly to religion.

The description, currently posted in the terminal, reads:

"The large central figure, who stands contemplating the heavens through a circular cut in the ceiling, swings in one hand a censor, indicating the religious origin of man's early thoughts of flight."

With the other hand, he draws designs of flying machines. Nevertheless, the mural was once obliterated with a layer of plain gray wall paint.

This tale has a happy ending. In 1977, De Wit Wallace and Laurence Rockefeller put up funds, with the support of the Port Authority, to uncover the mural, which had been sealed before overpainting.

James Brooks, in his 80s, rejoiced in the restoration — and we may all enjoy his fine work today.

Two tales, two airports. The best of times and stories — and the worst. A happy restoration and a silly censoring. The real McCarthyism, in its brutality, ruined lives and careers.

Modern "political correctness," in its puerility, feels like the farce after the tragedy — as Marx defined the path of history in contrasting Napoleon III with the original.

Perhaps, then, we should only laugh at the harmless nonsense of a line censored, while we rejoice in the restoration.

The language police triumphed over 'wretched refuse.' Did these particular police ever hear of metaphor?

tion of art both cruelly and mindlessly effaced. But we should respect arguments about thin edges of wedges.

If any issue should unite liberals and conservatives, anyone who cares about the integrity of human achievement or respect for human accomplishment, may we not all pledge to avoid the silly censoring that can lead to a codification of Orwell's Newspeak?

Consider John Milton's reasons for why good arguments are often lost: "For want of words, no doubt, or lack of breath!"

The writer is professor of zoology at Harvard University. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

We can't keep on meeting like this.

In planes. In hotels. In the street. Oh it's exciting every time we feel your hands on us, your eyes on us. And we know it does something special for you as well. Couldn't we see if we can turn this into something more serious? Here's an offer that should make us irresistible—the International Herald Tribune for three months, or even a year, for as little as half the newsstand price! So fax or mail the coupon now.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A Search in Chechnya

I have just returned from five weeks in Russia searching for Fred Cuny. He is one of Chechnya's great friends and one of the preeminent humanitarian emergency experts in the world. He was trying to aid the victims of the brutal Russian advance in Chechnya. He was also telling the story of the civilian suffering in Grozny to the outside world. In early April, he disappeared in Chechnya with his Russian interpreter and two Russian Red Cross doctors.

After spending more than a month in the Caucasus, I still don't know what happened to Fred, but I have not given up. Others do know; some of them are Chechens and some are Russians. President Bill Clinton engaged the help of President Boris Yeltsin, but in the field, this promise has not been kept. The FSB, the successor to the KGB, is — predictably — blaming the Chechens for his disappearance. Originally, a Chechen commander does appear to have arrested Fred and his colleagues — perhaps provoked by misinformation about Fred's intentions. After that the trail becomes murky.

Unless more is done by all parties, Fred Cuny will become the Raul Wallenberg of our time, poisoning Russia's relations with the world and casting a pall over hopes for a new and democratic Russia. Let us put into place an independent, outside investigation to work with the Russians and the Chechens. This investigation should have the cooperation of both sides at

the highest levels. We should not relent in this search until we know what happened to one of the world's great humanitarians and his colleagues.

LIONEL A. ROSENBLATT,
President,
Refugees International,
Washington.

The Help of a Friend

During World War II, my parents, brothers and sisters befriended an American soldier stationed in our village of Bradstitch, near Exeter. Now, after 50 years of peace in Europe, we would like him to know that his friendship has not been forgotten. All we know is his name, John A. Reisenauer, and that he came from Middle Village, New York, and had brothers and a sister named Elsie. We would like to give him a message of gratitude and thanks for those months of friendship. Through the help of men like him we have been able to enjoy peace.

Mrs. CONNIE ROOKES,
Nee Edworthy,
Pinhoe, England.

Widespread Irritation

The report titled "8 Billion Cigarettes Recalled by Maker" (IHT, May 29) states that a contaminant in the cigarettes' filters "may cause eye, nose and throat irritation, dizziness, coughing or wheezing." I fail to understand in what respect this distinguishes the "contaminated" cigarettes from any other cigarettes.

MARC D. EMORY,
Düsseldorf.

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HEALTH/SCIENCE

Genetic Clue in Case Of Toulouse-Lautrec

By Natalie Angier
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Doctors, like anyone else, cannot help being fascinated by the sorrows and afflictions of the famous, and nothing can give a rare disease more cachet than to link it to one of history's luminaries.

Perhaps the most celebrated dwarf of all times was Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, the exuberant portraitist of cabaret dancers and prostitutes and gleeful caricaturist of social pretense, as well as of his own less-than-fanciful appearance. But there are many different routes to stunted stature, and the question that has piqued scientific curiosity since the painter's death in 1901 is, what dwarfed Toulouse-Lautrec?

In 1962, two French doctors first described a type of inherited skeletal abnormality they called pycnodysostosis, and they assured that their announcement would win wide attention by arguing that this was the malady of France's most beloved poster boy. Yet because the painter's family would not allow his remains to be dug up to make a definitive diagnosis, the theory has been disputed.

Now, two papers in the current issue of the journal *Nature Genetics*, as well as an accompanying historical commentary, reanimate the debate over Toulouse-Lautrec. The two scientific papers describe the discovery of the approximate location of the gene that when mutated, causes pycnodysostosis. The gene sits somewhere about a third of the way down the bottom arm of chromosome 1 (out of the human complement of 23 pairs of chromosomes).

The scientists found the approximate location of the gene by examining two large families, one Mexican and one Arab, in which many relatives suffer from the skeletal disorder. The scientists involved in the work seem reasonably though not absolutely persuaded that their gene explains Toulouse-Lautrec's dwarfism.

"There's always a hazard to making a posthumous diagnosis," said Dr. Bruce D. Gelb of the Mount Sinai School of Medicine in New York. "But of all the skeletal ab-

normalities we know, this one seems most likely by far to be the right one."

In the accompanying essay, however, Julia B. Frey of the University of Colorado in Boulder, author of a biography of the artist published last year, insists that his medical history "contains enough elements uncharacteristic of pycnodysostosis to raise considerable doubts about the original diagnosis." "To which the researchers grumble, Dr. Frey may be a great biographer and historian, but she's no M.D."

Pycnodysostosis is a recessive disorder, meaning an infant must inherit two mutant copies of the gene, one from the mother and one from the father, to suffer the syndrome. Toulouse-Lautrec was born to an aristocratic family that traced its roots back to Charlemagne and that, as often happens among the nobility, tended to marry within the clan. The painter's two grandmothers were sisters, making his parents first cousins. Other first cousins in the family also ended up marrying. And though Henri was the only surviving child of his parents' union, several of his cousins suffered from skeletal disorders and dwarfism, sometimes in combination with neurological troubles and seizures.

PYCNODYSTOSIS is characterized by mild dwarfism, underdeveloped facial bones, a receding chin, prominent forehead, incomplete closure of the "soft spots" between the plates of the skull, fragile bones that fracture easily, a nose with a parrot-like hook, short fingers and toes, and a tendency to suffer from dental cavities.

Toulouse-Lautrec clearly fits some of this bill. He was just under 5 feet tall (1.52 meters), suffered from repeated, painful fractures of his legs and violent toothaches, and in adulthood his nose grew to prominent proportions, as did his lips, which became so deformed that he had a tendency to drool.

But Dr. Frey insists that the painter lacked other hallmarks of the bone disorder. From her examination of photographs, she concludes that his chin did not recede, his forehead was not prominent and his fingers were long and tapering.



A debate since his death in 1901: What dwarfed Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec?

Dr. Gelb counters that in his reading of photographs taken of the young Henri's profile, "it appears his jaw is not normal, that it's small and receded." The painter nearly always wore a hat, and some suggest he did so to cover his deformed head and the soft spots, or fontanelles, in the skull. Likewise, Dr. Gelb argues that in photographs the fingers appear to be stunted, which would

make Toulouse-Lautrec's achievement as a painter that much more remarkable.

Dr. Gelb says he and his co-workers hope to pin down the diagnosis more precisely once they isolate the gene proper. At that point, they will try to persuade Toulouse-Lautrec's living relatives to be tested to see whether they are silent carriers of the pycnodysostosis trait.

Scientists Battling Flight From Reason

By Malcolm W. Browne
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Since at least the time of Archimedes, the third-century B.C. Greek physicist who was slain by a Roman soldier, scientists have occasionally had to defend themselves from forces anathema to rational thought. Once again many scientists believe their backs are to the wall, and participants at a meeting in New York resolved to start fighting back.

There is growing danger, many said, that the fabric of reason is being ripped asunder, and that if scientists and other thinkers continue to acquiesce in the process, the hobbling of science and its handmaidens — medicine and technology among them — seems assured. Moreover, many participants argued, the same cognitive disease afflicting science in the United States and many other countries could eventually even unravel democracy, which depends on the capacity of citizens to reach rational estimates.

About 200 scientists, doctors, philosophers and educators around the United States convened for a three-day meeting at the New York Academy of Sciences to exchange views. Held under the rubric "The Flight From Science and Reason," the meeting was organized as a call to arms.

Defenders of scientific methodology were urged to counterattack against faith healing, astrology, religious fundamentalism and paranormal charlatanism. But beyond these threats to rational behavior, participants aimed their barbs at "post-modernist" critics of science who contend that truth in science depends on one's point of view, not on any absolute content.

Participants cited the physics of relativity and quantum mechanics as pillars of 20th-century thought that are sometimes distorted by critics of science into arguments that nothing in science is certain and that mystery and magic have an equal claim to belief. At risk is public trust in such scientific tools as statistical analysis, controlled laboratory and clinical experiments, and the study of history, anthropology and every other field dependent on disciplined, rational thought. Another weapon increasingly wielded

by opponents of science, participants warned, is the frequent allegation that fraud in scientific inquiry has become so common that scientists cannot be trusted.

Dr. David L. Goodstein, a physicist and vice provost of the California Institute of Technology, said that although fraud existed, it was not nearly as common as critics of science contended. Dr. Goodstein, who has worked with federal agencies in developing guidelines on misconduct in science, said that from 1980 to 1987 only 26 cases of misconduct came to light — involving three ten-thousandths of 1 percent of scientists receiving research grants.

Although most medical schools discount the claims of chiropractors, faith healers and practitioners of "alternative medicine," many medical schools lack the courage to stand by their convictions. Dr. Gerald Weissmann, a doctor at the New York University Medical Center, said, "Medicine and science today are being confronted by lunatics, fascists and the practitioners of bizarre magic," he said.

AMERICANS have become fascinated by angels and "out of body" experiences, said Dr. Wendy Kaminer of Radcliffe College in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and seem to be discarding the habit of critical thinking. It is in this environment that irrational ideas take hold, she said. "They tell us, for instance, that there is no death, only 'energy transformation,' and that science, born out of speculation, cannot help us understand the spiritual world."

"The dissemination of pseudoscience, including such things as the fascination with near-death experiences, the growing belief by Americans — 34 percent of them — in reincarnation, and such books as the best-seller 'Abduction: Human Encounters with Aliens' by Harvard University's John E. Mack, are dangerous. They help to break down the standards of reason, and that can lead to such vicious doctrines as Aryan theories of race, and Lysenkoism." The term is named after Trofim D. Lysenko, an agronomist who believed that acquired characteristics could be inherited, and nearly destroyed Soviet agriculture.

Chimpanzee 'Talk': Is It Really Language?

By George Johnson
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Panbanisha, a Bonobo chimpanzee who has become a star among animal language researchers, was strolling through the Georgia woods with a group of her fellow primates — scientists at the Language Research Center at Georgia State University in Atlanta. Suddenly, the chimp pulled one of them aside. Grabbing a special keyboard of the kind used to teach severely retarded children to communicate, she repeatedly pressed three symbols — "Fight," "Mad," "Austin" — in various combinations.

Austin is the name of another chimpanzee at the center. Dr. Sue Savage-Rumbaugh, one of Panbanisha's trainers, asked, "Was there a fight at Austin's house?"

"Waa, waa, waa" said the chimpanzee, in what Dr. Savage-Rumbaugh took as a sign of affirmation. She rushed to the building where Austin lives and learned that earlier in the day two of the chimps there, a mother and her son, had fought over which got to play with a computer and joystick used as part of the training program. As Dr. Savage-Rumbaugh saw it, Panbanisha had had a secret she urgently wanted to tell.

A decade and a half after the claims of animal language researchers were discredited as exaggerated self-delusions, Dr. Savage-Rumbaugh is reporting that her chimpanzees can demonstrate the rudimentary comprehension skills of 2½-year-old children. According to a series of recent papers, the Bonobo, or pygmy, chimps, which some scientists believe are more humanlike and intelligent than the common chimpanzees studied in the earlier,

flawed experiments, have learned to understand complex sentences and use symbolic language to communicate.

"She had never put those three lexigrams together," Dr. Savage-Rumbaugh said, referring to the keyboard symbols with which the animals are trained. She found the incident particularly gratifying because the chimp seemed to be using the symbols not to demand food, which is usually the case in these experiments, but to gossip.

In a book to be published later this year, "Apes, Language and the Human Mind: Philosophical Primatology" (Routledge), Dr. Savage-Rumbaugh and her co-authors, Dr. Stuart Shanker, a philosopher at York University in Toronto, and Dr. Talbot Taylor, a linguist at the College of William and Mary in Virginia, argue that the feats of the chimps at the Language Research Center are so impressive that scientists must now re-evaluate some of their most basic ideas about the nature of language.

MOST language experts dismiss experiments like the ones with Panbanisha as exercises in wishful thinking. "In my mind this kind of research is more analogous to the bears in the Moscow circus who are trained to ride unicycles," said Dr. Steven Pinker, a cognitive scientist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology who studies language acquisition in children. "You can train animals to do all kinds of amazing things."

Dr. Noam Chomsky, the MIT linguist whose theory that language is innate and unique to people forms the infrastructure of the field, says attempting to teach linguistic skills to animals is irrational — like trying to teach people to flap their arms and fly.



Kanzi, Bonobo chimp, in earphones.

"Humans can fly about 30 feet — that's what they do in the Olympics," he said. "Is that flying? The question is totally meaningless. In fact the analogy to flying is misleading because when humans fly 30 feet, the organs they're using are kind of homologous to the ones that chickens and eagles use." Arms and wings, in other words, arise from the same branch of the evolutionary tree. There is no evidence that the chimp utterances emerge from anything like the "language organ" Dr. Chomsky believes resides only in human brains.

Following Dr. Chomsky, most linguists argue that special neural circuitry needed for language evolved after man's ancestors split from those of the chimps millions of years ago. As evidence they note how quickly children, unlike chimpanzees, go from cobbling together two-word utterances to effortlessly spinning out complex sentences with phrases embedded within phrases like Russian dolls.

But Dr. Shanker and colleagues insist that Dr. Savage-Rumbaugh's experiments suggest that there is not an unbridgeable divide between humans and the rest of the animal kingdom, as orthodox linguists believe, but rather a gradation of linguistic skills.

Azores Sunken 'Museum' to Open

By William J. Broad
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The Azores in the age of exploration were an obligatory last stop for ships returning to Europe with the wealth of the Americas and the Orient, full of gold and silver, silks and spices, gems and diamonds, porcelains and fine steels. Over the centuries, thousands of galleons and other ships stopped at the lush volcanic isles for rest and refreshment, bracing for the final push home — often to no avail.

Attacked by pirates, destroyed in battle, ravaged by storms, many hundreds of vessels sank to form a hidden museum off-limits to even the deepest divers.

Until now. The doors are opening for the first time, exciting salvors and archaeologists around the world as they jostle for position. By some estimates, the Azores' deep waters hold not only the world's greatest concentration of treasure wrecks but countless warships and artifacts that offer an unusual window on Western history and development.

"It's a turning point," Dr. Margaret Rule, a prominent archaeologist in England, said. "The Azores were the crossroads of the Atlantic."

Robert F. Marx, a treasure hunter who has investigated hundreds of shipwrecks, called it an archaeological prize. "I've found so much gold and silver in my life that I'm sick of it," he said from Lisbon, where he is vying for a license to explore in the Azorean waters. "This is different. It's my childhood dream come true. It's the only place I know where there's hundreds and hundreds of intact ships. It's history come alive."

Dr. Francisco J.S. Alves, director of the National Museum of Archaeology in Lisbon, said the stakes were extraordinarily high, calling the Azores "a kind of world sanctuary of underwater culture."

Protected by unusually deep and icy waters, the shipwrecks of the Azores are now attracting attention partly because technical advances are opening the abyss.

Lost ships have long been salvaged in shallow waters, where divers go down 100 feet (30 meters) or more. But deeper ones, like most of those in the Azores, have become accessible only with the wide availability of advanced gear that is beginning to illuminate the sea's inky depths for the first time.

The other factor is Portugal. Proud of its maritime past, happy to aid the Azorean economy, eager to increase revenues from taxes and fees, Lisbon is opening the Azorean depths to commercial exploitation while striving to create a public showcase that sheds as much light as possible on the nautical heritage of Portugal and the West.

As such, the Azores are a case study in whether an ocean state can foster both private gain and public knowledge, a delicate balancing act that has failed in some countries and invariably upsets partisans.

"The question is whether these riches go to the antiquities markets and private collections or to museums and scholars for scientific study," said Dr. Alves, who has accused the government of favoring commercial interests over scholarly ones.

BUT Rui Gomes da Silva, the member of Portugal's parliament who wrote the shipwreck law governing the opening, said the issue was how to strike a middle ground rather than one extreme or another, marshaling as many forces as possible to expedite the opening and enhance the nation's reputation.

"The law is good," he said. "It can make Portugal the center of all the underwater archaeology in the world."

Experts say Lisbon's wreck debate is haunted by the threat of theft, just as in

bygone days when pirates looted Spanish and Portuguese treasure fleets.

"The government recognizes that there'll be piracy unless they get control," said Dr. Rule. "It's an administrative and practical question of trying to resolve a problem that already exists in Portuguese waters."

Dr. Kevin J. Crisman, an archaeologist at the Institute of Nautical Archaeology at Texas A&M University in College Station, who has made inquiries about the Azores, said the potential rewards for scholarship were vast, perhaps including discovery of the sturdy little ships known as caravels, a class that included the *Nina*, *Pinta* and *Santa Maria*, but about which little is known.

"It has to be fantastic," Dr. Crisman said of the Azorean wrecks. "For the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, it's a very rich place in terms of archaeological potential. You even have a good chance of finding a ship from a time before Columbus was in diapers. We have all these questions about the ships of that period."

Twelve hundred miles west of Lisbon, the Azores were stumbled upon by Portuguese mariners early in the 15th century and quickly became a vital crossroads because of north Atlantic winds that blow past each other in opposite directions.

Through trial and error, mariners, beginning with Columbus in 1492, discovered that their sails could catch easterly winds in the lower latitudes and ride them across the Atlantic. To return, they simply moved northward to catch the westerlies that blew them back toward Europe — and into the Azores, which are generously spread over the sea and hard to miss. Treasure fleets returning from the New World were joined by ones coming back from India, China and Japan by way of a long sea route that took them twice around the horn of Africa. Perils included hurricanes, fog, pirates and war.

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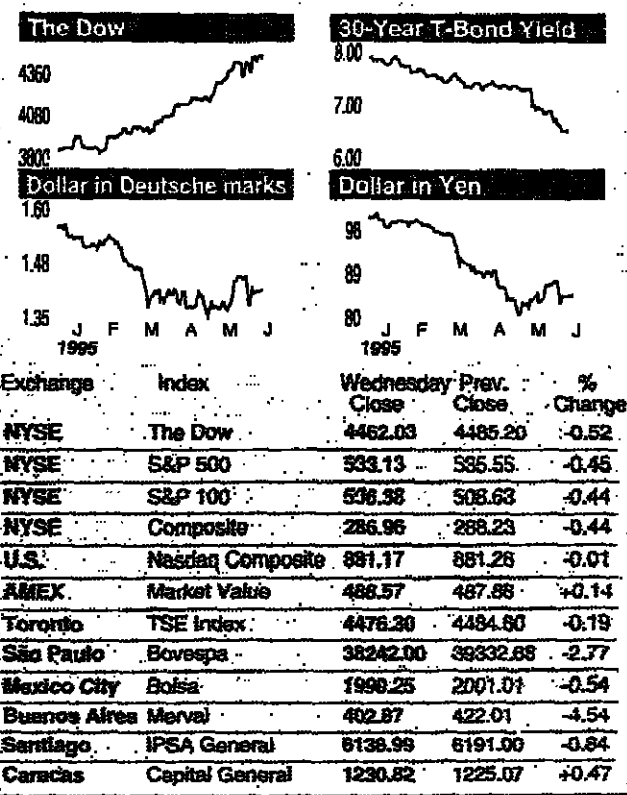
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Very briefly:

Caterpillar Increases Dividend 40%

PEORIA, Illinois (Bloomberg) — Caterpillar Inc. said Wednesday its board had increased its quarterly cash dividend by 40 percent, to 35 cents a share from 25 cents, payable Aug. 19 to shareholders of record July 20.

The maker of construction and earth-moving machinery said the board also had authorized the repurchase of as many as 10 percent, or about 20 million, of the company's common shares outstanding over the next three to five years.

"Today's actions reflect the board's confidence that we have the people, products and plans to meet growing demand from customers around the world and consistently build shareholder value well into the next century," said Donald V. Fites, Caterpillar's chairman and chief executive officer.

- AT&T Corp. will sell part of its microelectronics business to Siemens AG, the German company said. Terms were not disclosed.
- MasterCard International said it had joined the Oracle Set-Top Alliance, a group of companies in the interactive-television industry that exchange information on technology, business and standards issues.
- Sony Electronics Inc., Asahi Glass America Inc. and Corning Inc. said they would invest \$300 million in a joint venture to build a television glass manufacturing plant near Pittsburgh.
- K-Tec Holdings Inc., a unit of Kohlberg, Kravis, Roberts & Co., has agreed to buy Reliance Comm/Tec, an electronics unit of Rockwell International Corp., for \$475 million.

GE Starts to Modify Engines on 777s

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

CINCINNATI — General Electric Co.'s aircraft engines division said Wednesday it had begun modifying the engine it was installing in Boeing Co.'s new 777 twin-jet aircraft because of problems that emerged during testing.

The engine, part of the GE-90 family of engines, showed "some imbalance" during two tests, said Pat Klaus, a spokeswoman for the GE unit in Cincinnati.

Boeing stock closed up 62.50 cents at \$61.375, while General Electric stock finished down 12.5 cents at \$57.25.

General Electric Co. said Tuesday it had found a problem in the final development of its version of the jet engine that powers Boeing Co.'s new 777, but both companies said they believed they were still on schedule to deliver planes equipped with the GE90 engines to British Airways PLC in September.

General Electric said the problem was discovered during so-called bird-ingestion tests, in which the carcass of an eight-

pound bird is fired from a cannon into an engine operating at full throttle.

Although the GE90's new composite turbine blades and aluminum casing emerged unscathed from the test, there was more imbalance in the engine than had been anticipated, the company said.

The cause of the imbalance was found to be the failure of an aluminum part mounted between the blades that has an aerodynamic function.

"We're in the process right now of a redesign," said Rick Kennedy, a General Electric spokesman. "We're working to assess what impact it will have on our flight schedule, but we're working right now with Boeing on a plan to meet the schedule for September delivery," he said. "We want to implement and validate the fix before we commence flying again."

"We talked, and while it's too early to know the impact, we're still confident we're on schedule," said Stephanie Mudge, a spokeswoman for Boeing.

Boeing delivered the first 777, which was

equipped with Pratt & Whitney engines, to United Airlines last month. On Tuesday, travelers on a United flight from London to Washington became the first paying passengers to travel on the new jet, which cost an estimated \$5 billion to develop.

"One of the beauties of competition is that Boeing has a variety of engines to offer," Howard Rubel, an analyst with Goldman Sachs, said. "There is not a problem with the airplane," he said. "There is a delay at General Electric that may or may not delay deliveries to British Airways."

In addition to engines made by General Electric and Pratt & Whitney, which is a unit of United Technologies Corp., the 777 is available with an engine made by Rolls-Royce PLC.

On May 31, the Federal Aviation Administration said the 777 could skip a two-year test period and begin flying routes that took it as much as three hours' flying time away from the nearest possible landing point.

(Bloomberg, NYT)

Fears of Slowdown Pull Stocks Back

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — U.S. stocks fell Wednesday amid concern the economy was weakening too much for corporate earnings to keep growing.

The Dow Jones industrial average fell 23.17 points, to

4,462.03, after being down as much as 35.97 points. The average had risen 8.65 points on Tuesday to a record of 4,485.20.

"There is now beginning to be a tug of war," said Ricky Harrington, technical analyst at Interstate-Johnson Inc. "On one hand, there are low interest rates and the possibility of lower interest rates, and yet the very reason for those interest rates is a slowdown in business and its effect on earnings."

About 13 stocks fell for every eight that rose on the New York Stock Exchange, where 331.32 million shares traded hands, down from 342.38 million shares.

Stocks rallied to record highs through the first five months of this year amid expectations that earnings would continue to grow, but recent reports showing a drop in employment and slower overall economic growth have dimmed that optimism.

The Dow industrials have gained 17 percent so far this year.

The latest sign of an economic

slowdown came from Roadway Services Inc. and TNT Freightways Corp., two big freight transporters. Both companies said that second-quarter earnings would fall below their results of a year ago because shipments of goods have lagged.

The technology-laden Nasdaq Composite Index, meanwhile, climbed 2.19 to 881.59. Among the leaders in the volatile sector, Microsoft climbed 1/8 to 84 and Intel rose 1/4 to 113 1/4.

The other bright spot, health-care stocks, rose when Smith Barney raised its ratings of 10 health maintenance organizations. United Healthcare's stock was a leader in the sector, rising 2 1/4 to 41 1/4.

Caterpillar shares surged 1/2 to 60 1/4 after the maker of heavy machinery said it would raise its quarterly dividend 40 percent.

In the bond market, the yield on the benchmark 30-year issue hovered near a 15-month low for a third day, but investors were reluctant to push yields lower without dramatic, new evidence of a slowing economy and mild inflation. The yield on the 30-year Treasury bond rose to 5.55 percent from 6.51 percent Tuesday.

Shares of electric utilities fell in step with a drop in bond prices and corresponding rise in yields. Duke Power slipped 1/4 to 41 1/4 and Detroit Edison fell 1/4 to 30.

(Bloomberg, Reuters, AP)

Hospitality Franchise to Buy Century 21

By Edwin McDowell

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Hospitality Franchise Systems Inc., the world's biggest hotel franchiser, said Wednesday it had reached an agreement in principle to buy Century 21 Real Estate Corp. for \$200 million in cash and stock from Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

The purchase price does not include an additional payment

of \$30 million contingent upon certain levels of home sales in the United States through 1997.

Century 21, the largest U.S. residential real-estate sales organization, has about 6,000 franchised offices, including about 1,200 in 10 foreign countries. Its 1994 revenue was about \$130 million. It is based in Irvine, California.

Hospitality, based in Parsippany, New Jersey, has about 4,400 franchises, with almost 430,000 rooms. Its brands in-

clude Days Inn, Ramada Inn and Howard Johnson. Last year, it had a net income of \$53.5 million on revenue of \$313 million.

"We have looked for quite some time to expand our trademark beyond hotels," said Henry Silverman, the chairman of Hospitality Franchise Systems.

"We provide service to hotels," he said. "Now we'll provide service to the residential real-estate business."

Harry P. Kamen, chief execu-

tive of Met Life, said it decided to sell Century 21, which it acquired in 1985, "as part of our ongoing strategy of focusing on our core business operations."

Its mortgage banking subsidiary, Metmore Financial, is also for sale.

Mr. Silverman said that while Century 21 was a successful business, he expected to increase its revenue growth, add to the parent company's per-share earnings and provide revenue diversification.

Dollar Gets a Boost From Bundesbank President's Comments

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — The dollar closed higher Wednesday as comments by the Bundesbank president about the Deutsche mark's rally offset pressure from concerns about Latin American economies.

Hans Tietmeyer, the head of the German central bank, said he was troubled by the mark's "unsatisfactory" rally against the dollar.

"There is a strong reevaluation, and that has gone too far," Mr. Tietmeyer said in reference to the mark. He spoke at the International Monetary Confer-

ence, an annual meeting of central and commercial bankers in Seattle.

John McCarthy, foreign exchange

manager at ING Capital Markets in New York, said, "The dollar recovered on the back of Tietmeyer's statements."

Also helping the dollar to recover were reports that Bank of Japan officials in Seattle, including Akira Nagashima, the deputy governor, said Japan and other industrialized nations

would continue to cooperate in supporting the dollar.

Meanwhile, Alan Greenspan, the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, told a private conference of commercial bankers Wednesday that he was "not greatly concerned" over the U.S. economic slowdown reflected in recent data, according to reports.

He said shocks could create economic problems, but "I don't myself see any" shocks that disturb the economy. He said there was little chance the inventory buildup would continue "this year, next year and perhaps beyond."

The dollar rose to 1.4144 Deutsche marks from 1.4105 DM Tuesday and to 84.900 yen from 84.665 yen. It also climbed to 1.1645 Swiss francs from 1.1630 francs and to 4.9675 French francs from 4.9460 francs. The pound fell to \$1.5895 from \$1.5925.

Earlier the dollar was weighed down by concerns about the health of Argentina's economy and the extent to which there might be a spillover effect on the rest of Latin America.

"There's talk that weakness in Latin American economies might affect U.S.

exports and hence our growth," Mr. McCarthy said.

Rumors had also surfaced that Argentina might be unable to meet debt payments. There was no official word from the Argentine government and most traders were highly skeptical.

While there was no official word from the Argentine government in response to the rumors, Economy Minister Domingo Cavallo of Argentina said earlier that Argentina would not need to look for new foreign loans until midway through 1996.

(Reuters, Bloomberg, Knight-Ridder)

WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Wednesday, June 7					High					High					High					High					High					High					
Prices in local currencies.					Low					Low					Low					Low					Low					Low					
Telekurs					Frankfurt					Johannesburg					Kuala Lumpur					London					Helsinki					Hong Kong					
High	Low	Close	Prev.		High	Low	Close	Prev.		High	Low	Close	Prev.		High	Low	Close	Prev.		High	Low	Close	Prev.		High	Low	Close	Prev.		High	Low	Close	Prev.		
Amsterdam																																			
ABN-AMRO	60.00	60.10	60.00	60.00	AMS	190	190	190	190	AngloAm Corp	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
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Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
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Aeg	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	ASX	200	200	200	200	AngloGold	20.50	20.50	20.50	20.50	GenCorp	24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50	Alcoa	4.94	4.94	4.94	4.94	Cultural	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	Amoy Pacific	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Aeg	50.00	50.00	50																																

ASIA/PACIFIC

Rising Yen Hits Taiwan's Trade Surplus for May

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TAIPEI — Taiwan's exports rose to a record in May, but the yen's rise cut the dollar value of its trade surplus by almost a third, analysts said Wednesday.

Led by a surge in sales to other Asian countries, Taiwan's exports soared 19.2 percent in May from the like 1994 month, to \$10.07 billion, the Ministry of Finance said.

Exports to Hong Kong, Taiwan's largest overseas market and the conduit for its trade with China, rose 24 percent, to \$2.5

billion. Sales to Japan jumped 33.8 percent, to \$1.1 billion.

The sharp appreciation of the yen against the Taiwan dollar and the U.S. dollar, although helping to boost exports to Japan, narrowed Taiwan's surplus, analysts said.

Increased prices on goods from Japan, Taiwan's biggest overseas supplier, contributed to a 34.8 percent rise in the value of imports from that country, to \$2.65 billion, and a 27.3 percent increase in overall imports, to \$9.25 billion, the ministry said.

The big rise in imports more than offset the improvement in exports and led to a 30.4 percent fall in Taiwan's trade surplus from a year earlier, to \$819.5 million.

"The higher yen will help exports, but in the short term the trade surplus with Japan will rise because we're importing increasingly costly parts," said Hsu Tzu-kuan of the Taiwan Institute for Economic Research.

The central bank said Taiwan's foreign-exchange reserves rose to a record \$100.6 billion at the end of May. The return on investment of the reserves stood at 5.96 percent, compared with 5.61 percent at the end of 1994.

In the first five months of 1995, Taiwan's exports rose 23.4 percent from a year earlier, to \$44.6 billion. Imports climbed 23.4 percent, to \$42.2 billion, and the trade surplus widened 22.4 percent, to \$2.36 billion. (Bloomberg, AFP)

Malaysia Posts GDP Jump

Malaysia's economy grew 9.9 percent in the first quarter of 1995, compared with a year earlier, Bloomberg Business News reported from Kuala Lumpur, quoting central-bank data.

Malaysia's economy — measured by the gross domestic product, or total amount of goods and services produced — grew 8.7 percent in 1994, and the central bank has forecast growth for all of 1995 of 8.9 percent.

The robust growth was fueled by manufacturing, which expanded 15.2 percent, and construction, at 14.5 percent.

Analysts Pan Tokyo's Bank Plan

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — A series of pronouncements, press leaks and proposals concerning Japan's banking crisis indicates the government is not serious about solving the problem, analysts said Wednesday.

Finance Minister Masuyoshi Takemura said the government would announce a plan to deal with the mountain of bad debt "very soon." He reiterated that public funds would not be used.

A front-page article in Japan's largest business daily, meanwhile, outlined what the paper said were the major measures the government was considering:

• The deposit-insurance system would be changed to allow failing banks to tap funds before going bankrupt or merging with another bank. Currently, the funds can be used either to help depositors after a bankruptcy or to help an institution that agrees to absorb an ailing one.

• The deposit-insurance fund, currently holding only about 800 billion yen (\$9.42 billion), would collect additional reserves to protect depositors.

• Banks would be encouraged to further disclose the extent of their bad loans.

• The liquidation of property and other collateral behind bad loans would be encouraged, probably through auctions.

• Credit unions would be encouraged to convert themselves into banks and other businesses. The effect of this would be to bring them under the jurisdiction of the Finance Ministry rather than of local governments.

Analysts viewed the measures as little more than a recitation of the strategy already in use to deal with the problem. They said the thorniest issues in the financial system had not been addressed in the proposals.

"It's very limp," said David Threadgold, an analyst with BZW Securities in Japan. "There's absolutely nothing there."

On Friday, Mr. Masuyoshi said the use of "public funds" was an "important theme" in discussions aimed at solving the banking crisis. He has now backed away from this stance.

Japan's banking problems date from the country's "bubble" economy of the 1980s, when banks lent trillions of yen to developers, construction companies and

other businesses that invested in real estate. When the bubble burst, dragging down property prices and the stock market with it, the banks were left with a mountain of bad debt.

A senior official at the Ministry of Finance said Tuesday that bad debts at Japanese banks totaled 40 trillion yen.

"I can't believe this is the final statement," said Elizabeth Daniels, an analyst with Morgan Stanley & Co. "It's more a stage in trying to build a consensus. The bankers have reached a consensus that public funds are needed to solve the problem. Now the Ministry of Finance has to reach its consensus, and after that, the Diet."

Nearly all independent analysts have concluded that troubled lenders' problems cannot be solved without an injection of public funds, no matter how controversial that turns out to be.

Separately, Sakura Bank Ltd.'s debt rating was lowered by Standard & Poor's Corp. to A-minus, from A. The New York-based rating concern cited the bank's bad loans.

(Bloomberg, Knight-Ridder)

Beijing Awaits Overtures on WTO Entry

Knight-Ridder

HONG KONG — Beijing will not arrange any more talks on entry to the World Trade Organization but will respond to invitations from member countries, the South China Morning Post reported Wednesday.

"We are not going to make any effort to set up more meetings, but if others do so, we'll be pleased to attend," the paper quoted Gu Yongming, a senior official at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation, as saying.

"Whatever happens, we plan to maintain close trade ties with countries in the WTO," he said in Hong Kong.

In May, China held informal discussions with major WTO members, but the talks reportedly made little progress. Mr. Gu repeated the government's position that China should be allowed to join the organization as a developing country, not developed, country.

"Our obligations and responsibilities can only be those of a developing country," Mr. Gu said.

Central Banker Jolts Sydney Bonds

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SYDNEY — Reserve Bank Governor Bernie Fraser played spoilsport Wednesday, putting chances of an interest-rate cut on the back burner and crushing the biggest bond market rally in more than three years.

The central banker, in Seattle for an international monetary conference, was quoted as saying it would be "a bit premature" to suggest Australian rates would be heading lower soon.

"The economy is clearly slowing down," he said. "It's a question of if it's slowing down enough."

Prices of three-year bonds plunged afterward, and their

yield rose to 7.88 percent from 7.72 percent.

Australian shares fell as foreign investors continued to shun the local market and domestic fund managers assessed conflicting signals about the direction of interest rates, traders said. The Sydney All Ordinaries index fell 4.5 points to 2,015.6.

While Mr. Fraser's comments vindicated the views of many traders and economists, they dented prospects for the bond market and the Labor Party government, which is gearing up for elections.

"I think it is just reminding people that basically, people are getting a bit carried away in

looking for a rate cut in Australia," said Bruce Hockman, an economist at Bain & Co. "It's a timely reminder that domestic conditions certainly aren't yet getting a signal about needing to ease."

At the same time, with annual growth at 3.7 percent, strong retail sales and employment, and a pick-up in consumer confidence, traders and analysts said warnings of recession were premature. The figures point to "resilience in the economy," said Paul Kelly, chief economist for Commonwealth Funds Management.

(Bloomberg, Knight-Ridder)

Ex-General Gets Korea Telecom Post

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SEOUL — A retired four-star general was named president of South Korea's telecommunications monopoly Wednesday.

President Kim Young Sam dismissed Cho Baik Jo and named the former commander of the 1st Army, Lee Jun, as head of Korea Telecom, a presidential spokesman said.

A company spokesman said he understood Mr. Cho had been fired after taking responsibility for a three-week labor dispute.

Union leaders have been arrested for illegal

activities as the company's 50,000 union members have engaged in a work-to-rule action.

"Korea Telecom is the country's nerve center," Mr. Kim was quoted as telling Mr. Lee. "I will make the KT incident a breakthrough in suppressing illegality and corruption."

The Labor Ministry, meanwhile, announced measures aimed at easing labor shortages by promoting the employment of citizens over 55 years old.

The package includes subsidies for companies whose work force includes at least 6 percent older workers. (AFP, Reuters)

Li Ka-shing Sells Hutchison Stake Of \$166 Million

Bloomberg Business News

HONG KONG — Li Ka-shing, chairman of Cheung Kong (Holdings) Ltd., sold \$166 million of shares in Hutchison Whampoa Ltd. as the stock's price neared a five-year high, according to reports published Wednesday.

Mr. Li, who is also the chairman of Hutchison, sold almost 33 million shares in the Hong Kong-based conglomerate at 39.30 Hong Kong dollars (\$5.08) a share on May 30, according to transaction summaries published by the Hong Kong Stock Exchange.

The chairman's stake in Hutchison, whose interests range from property to container terminals to telecommunications, dropped to 44.33 percent from 45.24 percent.

Last month, Mr. Li consolidated most of his personal fortune into a single trust, saying he wanted to avoid onerous taxes on his estate.

At the time, some analysts said the move raised concern about the executive's faith in Hong Kong after the territory reverts to Chinese rule in July 1997. Mr. Li rejected that interpretation in interviews with local papers.

Investor's Asia

Hong Kong Hang Seng	Singapore Straits Times	Tokyo Nikkei 225
10000	2400	20000
9000	2300	19000
8000	2200	18000
7000	2100	17000
6000	2000	16000
5000	1900	15000
4000	1800	14000
3000	1700	13000
2000	1600	12000
1000	1500	11000
0	1400	10000
1994	1994	1994
Exchange Index	Wednesday Prev. Close	% Change
Hong Kong Hang Seng	8,382.58	-1.21
Singapore Straits Times	2,179.11	-0.54
Sydney All Ordinaries	2,015.60	-0.22
Tokyo Nikkei 225	15,879.82	+0.12
Kuala Lumpur Composite	1,057.80	-2.10
Bangkok SET	1,402.39	+0.37
Seoul Composite Index	899.36	+0.04
Taipei Stock Market Index	5,681.58	+0.06
Manila PSE	2,838.85	-1.34
Jakarta Composite Index	495.51	+0.17
Wellington NZSE-40	2,111.76	-0.33
Bombay Sensitive Index	3,389.32	-0.82

Source: Teletels

International Herald Tribune

Very briefly:

• Enron Corp. came under fire for alleged "underhand dealings" in India; L.K. Advani, president of the Bharatiya Janata party, urged the United States to investigate the company's methods in securing a power contract that was canceled by Maharashtra state.

• AT&T Corp. and Aditya Birla Group of India submitted bids for three regional cellular-phone licenses; the joint venture is to provide services in the states of Gujarat, Karnataka and Maharashtra if its bids are accepted.

• Eurocopter, a joint venture of Aerospatiale and Daimler-Benz Aerospace AG, plans to acquire a controlling stake in Philippine Helicopter Services Inc.; the venture is moving maintenance operations to Manila from Singapore.

• Bangkok Expressway Co. is to raise 4.09 billion baht (\$165.9 million) by offering 99.74 million shares to the public at 41 baht each; the company will offer 20 percent of the shares to foreign investors and 30 percent to the public, while the rest will go to groups including local funds and underwriter clients.

• Thailand gave commercial banks, securities firms and life insurance companies permission to set up retirement funds.

• Case Corp. of the United States sold 300 combines to Turkmenistan in a transaction valued at \$45 million; the company plans to expand its operations in Asia.

• Australia is to send 100 government and business leaders to Shanghai in September to sound out business opportunities at a trade and investment forum.

• NBC, the U.S. TV network owned by General Electric Co., appointed Shing-kyong Fung, formerly general manager of Television Broadcasts Ltd., president of NBC Asia Ltd.

• Asia Pacific Resources International Holdings Ltd. of Singapore said it got government approval to set up paper mills in China.

• Boral Ltd. of Australia may sell part or all of its elevator and building-technology unit; the company said it had been approached by a number of major elevator groups.

• Dong Ah Construction Industrial Co. of South Korea received a \$5.68 billion contract from Libya to lay 1,100 kilometers of water pipe. (AFP, Bloomberg, Knight-Ridder)

SALOMON: Maundy Brews at Firm, Despite Buffett's Backing for Chief

Continued from Page 11

client businesses as equity and debt underwriting and mergers and acquisitions.

Last year, in a performance that Mr. Maughan himself described as "appalling," it lost \$963 million before taxes, largely because of sour market conditions and the discovery of a decade's worth of accounting errors.

And the cut in compensation — the bedrock of a Buffett-backed plan to restore profitability that was regarded by insiders as Mr. Maughan's ultimate act of disloyalty to them — set off an exodus of talented traders, bankers and other professionals. The directors kept heading for the door, taking some of the firm's business with them, even after Mr. Maughan restored part of the cuts in April.

Late last month, Cox Communications Inc., the big media company, demoted Salomon from its position as lead underwriter for a planned stock offering, citing personnel changes at the firm.

All the while, there has been a steady departure of traders from the firm's arbitrage desk, courtesy of John Meriwether, the principal architect of Salomon's proprietary trading operations who was forced to leave after the bond scandal. Mr. Meriwether has attracted a dozen of the firm's star performers to his expanding hedge-fund business in Greenwich, Connecticut. Some in the firm have faulted Mr. Maughan for not bringing Mr. Meriwether back. Things have become so tense that employees have begun sniping at Mr. Maughan on a personal level for the first time.

In the year after he took over, colleagues gushed about his integrity, intuitive skills and intelligence. Now, they complain that he has isolated himself in his 43rd-floor office, and they revel in gossip about his wife, Va, who has raised eyebrows with her taste for luxury and a combative personality that in one case nearly cost Salomon a major account.

While finding fault with the chief executive's wife is something of a tradition at the firm — the wife of John H. Gutfreund, was widely criticized for that couple's lavish lifestyle — there is an edge to the current gossip that sets it apart.

Such upheaval at any other company would have led long ago to the creation of an office pool to bet on the timing of the chief executive's departure. But Mr. Maughan wields a shield that most chieftains would envy: Mr. Buffett's support.

Still, even Mr. Buffett cannot just stand by indefinitely if Salomon continues to implode.

Tokyo Pacific Holdings

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ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

of shareholders of GT EUROPE FUND will be held at the offices of Banque Internationale à Luxembourg, Société Anonyme, 69, route d'Esch, L-1470 Luxembourg, on Friday, June 16, 1995 at 11.00 a.m. with the following agenda:

- To hear and accept the Reports of:
 - The Directors
 - The Auditor
- To approve the Report of the Directors for the year ended 31 December, 1994 including the Statement of Net Assets as at 31 December, 1994 and Statement of Operations for the year ended December 31, 1994.
- To discharge the Board of Directors and the Auditor with respect of their performance of duties for the period ended December 31, 1994.
- To elect the Directors to serve until the next Annual General Meeting of Shareholders.
- To elect an Auditor to serve until the next Annual General Meeting of Shareholders: Coopers & Lybrand S.C.
- To declare a dividend in respect of the year ended 31 December, 1994.
- To approve the payment of directors' fees.
- Any other business.
- Adjournment.

The shareholders are advised that no quorum is required for the items on the agenda of the Annual General Meeting and that decisions will be taken on a simple majority of the shares present or represented at the meeting.

In order to take part at the meeting of June 16, 1995, the owners of bearer shares will have to deposit their shares five clear days before the meeting with the registered office of the company or with Banque Internationale à Luxembourg, 69, route d'Esch, L-1470 Luxembourg.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

GT INVESTMENT FUND

Société d'Investissement à Capital Variable
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ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

of shareholders of GT INVESTMENT FUND will be held at the offices of Banque Internationale à Luxembourg, Société Anonyme, 69, route d'Esch, L-1470 Luxembourg, on Friday, June 16, 1995 at 10.00 a.m. with the following agenda:

- To hear and accept the Reports of:
 - The Directors
 - The Auditor
- To approve the Report of the Directors for the year ended 31 December, 1994 including the Statement of Net Assets as at 31 December, 1994 and Statement of Operations for the year ended December 31, 1994.
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In order to take part at the meeting of June 16, 1995, the owners of bearer shares will have to deposit their shares five clear days before the meeting with one of the following banks who are authorized to receive the shares on deposit:

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of consolidated net

income, up 8.5 %

from 1993, makes

Crédit Agricole

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terms of earnings.

116.6

billion francs

of total capital

- nearly 80 %

of which is Tier One

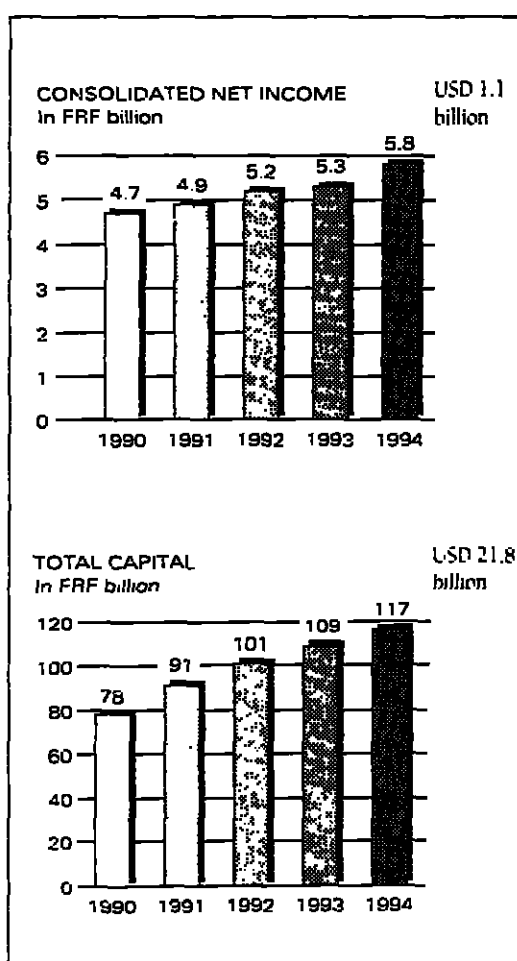
capital - confirms

Crédit Agricole's

solidity and its place

among Europe's

leading banks.



1,754

billion francs

of total

consolidated

assets, up 5.2 %

from 1993, illustrates

Crédit Agricole's

expanding franchise

and growing market

share.

10.2 %

capital ratio, which

has risen steadily over

the past five years,

gives Crédit Agricole

broader scope for

future growth.



RUSSIA

GETTING READY FOR LARGE-SCALE ECONOMIC GROWTH

Private businesses are flourishing.

A stroll along Tverskaya Ulitsa — Moscow's main drag, with its dozens of construction projects, banks and glitzy shop windows — should be enough to convince any doubter that rapid growth is taking place in the Russian economy. A subway ride across town to the troubled ZIL auto plant or a hop on a plane to a Urals city like Chelyabinsk, however, shows industry at a standstill.

While many of Russia's old industries are dying, new and vibrant private businesses are rising from the ashes to take their place.

According to Pavel Teplukhin, an economist with the independent Center for Economic Performance, the recovery is starting from infrastructure — telecommunications, banking, financial services, construction and hotels. Industrial production is not growing, but at least it has stopped falling.

Stabilizing the economy

Boosted by a \$6.8 billion loan from the International Monetary Fund approved in April, Russia is poised to stabilize its economy and create the conditions for large-scale investment and growth. Investors' fears persist about slow progress in reforming the country's complex and often hostile legal and tax systems.

Unlike previous attempts at economic stabilization, the government seems to mean business this time: M2 money supply grew by just 1 percent a month in the first quarter of 1995, and Russia is financing its budget deficit with an expanded program of domestic borrowing, instead of the Central Bank running its printing presses.

In any case, the IMF is keeping a close eye on developments. It is releasing loans on a monthly basis so that money can be withheld if there is any major transgression from the mutually agreed economic program, which envisages slashing the country's deficit to just 5.6 percent of gross domestic product this year, from more than 10 percent last year.

On current evidence, the IMF need not worry. Russia's achievements in the first few months of the year have been striking.

Monthly inflation has fallen from a 12-month high of 18 percent in January to 8.5 percent in April, and the government is aiming to bring the rate below 2 percent by the end of the year.

The battered ruble, which lost 30 percent of its value in the first four months of the year, has begun to rally against the dollar, and government officials say they will no longer force the currency downward in a bid to aid exports.



Economic decline has all but bottomed out: GDP fell by just 5 percent in the 12 months up to March, compared with a 17 percent drop a year earlier. Some branches of industry — nonferrous metals, forestry, fertilizers — have already begun to grow again.

Through the net

Moreover, the extent of Russia's revival is undoubtedly underestimated by the government's statisticians, who were trained to study a planned economy: Much private business activity slips through their net. Even official figures show that the burgeoning private sector now accounts for over 60 percent of GDP.

Many private businesses prefer to keep as far away from the government line of vision as possible, not necessarily because they are doing anything illegal (although some of

them undoubtedly are), but to avoid taxes that are often simply stupid and punitive.

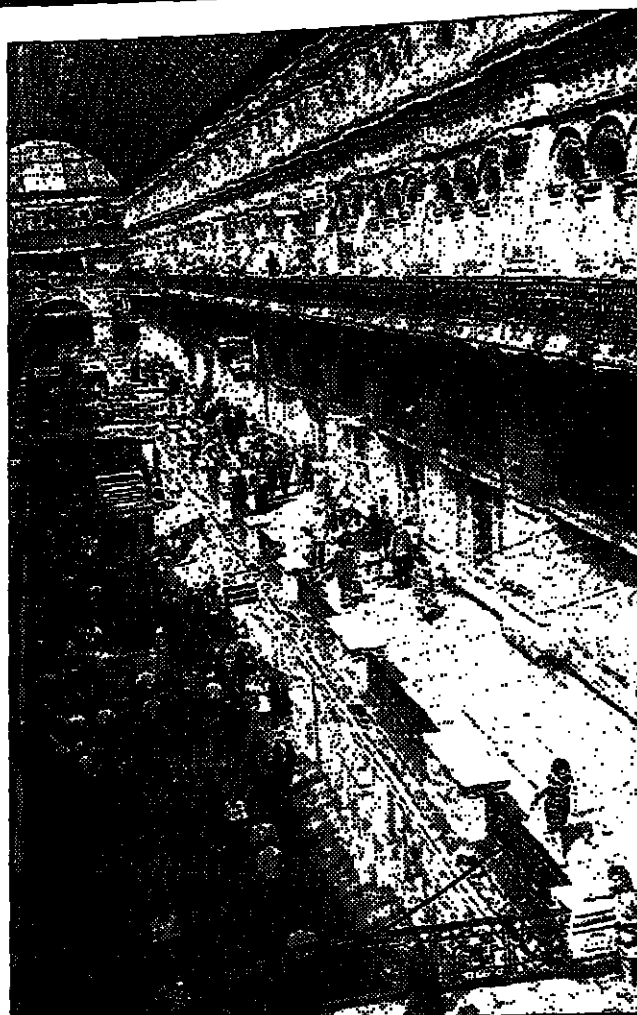
One lightning-rod example is the excess-wages tax, which imposes a 38 percent levy on employers who pay their staff salaries higher than \$50 per month.

This tax is a disaster for foreign investment, says Peter Charow, executive director of Moscow's American Chamber of Commerce.

Investment disincentives

A recent survey conducted by the Center for Economic Performance shows Russia's legal and tax systems to be the biggest disincentives to foreign investment.

Russia has promised to drop the excess-wage tax next year, but its assurances of a wholesale reform that would rationalize the number of taxes levied and shift the burden



Thriving commerce in Moscow (above)

and brisk sales of Coke at a concert in the Red Square (left): Although Russia's tax and legal systems remain problematic, Western investment is pouring into the country.

away from business toward individuals have so far failed to materialize.

Also long-delayed is a comprehensive law that would rein in Russia's wild securities markets and help reassure portfolio investors, weary after a series of scandals involving everything from stock dilutions to share deletions.

The creation of a Federal Securities Commission and its elevation to ministerial status are strong indications that the government is serious about defending investors' rights.

The big danger now facing Russia is that good intentions will fall by the wayside as election season looms, first for the parliament in December and later for the presidency in June.

The Communist Party is expected to do well at the parliamentary polls, and reformers in the government could be tempted to loosen the reins on spending in order to attract more votes.

Euan Craik

FOREIGN INVESTORS LURED BY A POTENTIAL GOLD MINE

After months of stagnation, foreign investment in Russia seems set for a boom later this year.

A push from both lawmakers and the private sector to regulate the country's nascent capital markets — coupled with steadily falling inflation — is expected to lure investors back to this potential gold mine of a market.

"Last year, there was a

boom in portfolio investment, and we are expecting a second boom in foreign investment," Deputy Prime Minister Anatoly Chubais, a leading reformer and chief of the State Commission on Securities and Capital Markets, told reporters in Washington recently.

In the summer of 1994, foreign cash was pouring into Russian securities at a rate of \$500 million a month, but dipped to \$50 million by December, owing to a sudden increase in inflation and the beginning of the Chechen conflict.

A measure of security

Western-led efforts to bring a measure of security to portfolio investment will pave the way to a more efficient stock market, experts say. "Several projects are going through, which will lead to greater confidence and a larger investment base," says the director of a large Moscow brokerage. "It is a big step toward creating a liquid stock market."

The broker cites a project by Chase Manhattan Bank, which has received approval

from the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission to provide custodial services for American clients, as well as an effort led by the Bank of New York to create a super-share registrar. "With portfolio investment, you need to know you are getting what you pay for," he says.

On the legislative side, a senior regulatory official applauded deputies' moves toward creating open shareholders' registers, as the State Duma — the lower house of parliament — passed the crucial second reading of a draft securities law in late April.

"It is very important from the point of view of market transparency," says Dmitry Vasiliev, deputy head of the securities commission, which is structured along the lines of the U.S. SEC and has the status of a ministry. "The draft law is a very good basis for the development of the stock market in the country," he adds.

Legal quagmires have proven a strong impediment to investment. A survey con-

ducted in April by the Moscow-based Center for Economic Performance showed that legal issues top the list of disincentives.

"Once you sort out the custody and registration issue, you will unlock a rush of portfolio investment," says Liam Halligan, an economist with the center and co-author of the report. "People invest in emerging markets for many reasons, including a cheap labor force and a large market potential. Combine those two things with fabulous mineral resources, geographic and cultural proximity to Europe and a very high level of human capital, and Russia should be the toast of the emerging market whiz kids."

One factor that should encourage foreign investors is domestic interest in Russia's capital markets. "If the environment would be quite attractive and pleasant for domestic investment, foreign investment would also follow," says Andrei Illarionov, who heads the independent Institute for Economic Analysis.

Brokers say that because average annualized yields on the Finance Ministry's three-month treasury bills have fallen dramatically since December, Russians are turning an eye toward equity investment, a sign that should lure foreigners back to the stock market.

Portfolio investment amounted to \$1.6 billion in 1994, according to Mr. Illar-

ionov, though he says that the government's projection of drawing \$6 billion to \$8 billion in total foreign investment this year is "unrealistic."

While foreign direct investment — which from the private sector totaled about \$1 billion in 1994 — is a more long-term process, it can be buoyed by the stock market.

"Direct investment takes a lot longer because it depends on long-term stability," Mr. Halligan says. "But there is clearly a link between equity investment and foreign direct investment because a large amount of equity investment means people learn a lot about Russia, break the taboo."

Natasha Mileusnic

ST. PETERSBURG: RICH PAST AND REVITALIZED PRESENT

Cultural attractions and a dynamic government fuel St. Petersburg.

To international tourists, St. Petersburg's prime attractions are its 18th century Italianate palaces and "prospects" (broad boulevards), its dazzlingly ornate 19th century emporiums and the chance to encounter Russia's late 20th century realities. The geographic hub of the city is the Winter Palace, home to the Hermitage, one of the world's definitive museums.

The palaces and emporiums, gleaming in fresh paint or still masked by scaffolding, relate an important part

of the city's reality: The renewal of its nonpareil stock of buildings is progressing quickly.

Safety and security
The bustling crowds that fill the prospects at most hours of the day and evening, evince other aspects of modern St. Petersburg: The city seems to be thriving and safe. "As long as one observes the standard rules of prudent behavior applied in any major metropolis nowadays, St. Petersburg is a safe city, in which simply strolling and looking is a great pleasure," says Ferdinand Wieland, general manager of St. Petersburg's Nevskij Palace hotel, operated and partially owned (along with five other luxury establishments in Russia, Georgia and Kazakhstan) by the Vienna-based Marco Polo Hotels and Resorts.

Now entering its third year of operation, the Nevskij Palace is perhaps

the most visible sign of another late 20th century reality in St. Petersburg and elsewhere in Russia: the advent of a large and sophisticated tourism sector. The city offers numerous pricey restaurants, Irish pubs and other staples of global travel.

Once the great deficiency of the Soviet system, travel-related services are improving rapidly. Tourist information booths and signs are popping up in the downtown area. Banks and other money-changing facilities are strewn throughout the city. "This improvement has been especially gratifying for international travelers, as they are most dependent upon promptly receiving accurate, comprehensible, reliable information and business services," says Mr. Wieland.

In meeting this need, the Marco Polo hotels assist in the securing of all necessary visas and in the staging of

Continued on page 20

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R U S S I A

BANKING STRATEGY: UPGRADE INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENT

Russia's strongest banks aim to meet international standards.

Russia's rapidly growing banking sector is struggling to come of age and join the world financial community by hiring Western auditors, working on international banking programs and joining the international credit card unions.

The post-Soviet banking explosion left Russia with about 2,700 banks. Some of them can barely make ends meet — about half of Russian banks are on the verge of bankruptcy, according to the Central Bank. The strongest banks, however, are struggling to carve out a large slice of the economy for themselves.

A consortium of seven of the country's biggest banks recently presented a proposal to the government whereby they would lend the government much-needed money in exchange for control of the state's shares in key Russian enterprises.

The government has yet to

give a response, but the indications are that the deal will go ahead in one form or another.

Strategy for growth

Having made their fortunes on currency speculation and the handling of lucrative state accounts, the best Russian banks are now looking to investment in industry as a strategy for long-term stability and growth.

Inkbank, a member of the consortium and the most successful of Russia's new wave of commercial banks, says it wants to become a "100 percent international standards bank" this year.

"Our new strategy means that we are going to develop at a more moderate rate, but preserve our part of the market," says Viktor Moiseyev, the bank's senior vice president. "It also means strengthening our financial position by reaching international standards. We are go-

ing to improve the process of taking decisions connected with high credit risks, to make deep portfolio diversification and to set reserves against risks."

The bank's audit was carried out last year by KPMG, a member of the "Big Six" international accounting firms. Inkbank is one of some 40 Russian banks working with the World Bank to bring their operations into line with world standards.

The bank's 1994 net profit of 204.5 billion rubles (\$40.9 million) stands out in a year that was generally flat for the Russian banking industry. Banks' consolidated assets more than doubled, from \$46 billion in 1992 to \$94 billion in 1993, but only grew by \$2 billion in all of 1994. Investment also leveled off, staying constant at \$30 million.

One Russian bank, Tokobank, had its efforts to



The old for the new: Banks exchange rubles printed before 1993.

come up to international standards, lauded by Euromoney magazine, which called it the "best Russian bank" in 1994.

Launched five years ago, Tokobank has seen its annual turnover rise to 428 trillion rubles in 1994, from 82.5 trillion rubles in 1993, according to the bank's accounts, audited by Coopers & Lybrand.

Tokobank's attitude to doing business attracted the attention of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which last year bought 14 percent of Tokobank's hard currency charter capital — the first investment in a Russian bank by a foreign one.

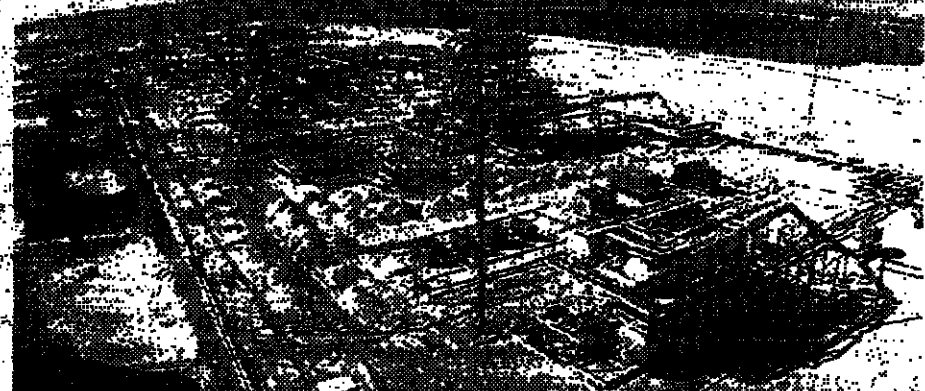
Despite a flat profit year,

MOST-Bank spent a significant amount of money to join the Cirrus network to provide its clients with the ability to use their debit cards in London or New York as easily as at home in Moscow.

Like living in London

The card, the first to combine an international card with a local Russian one, "is the result of a three-year effort," says Alexander Polyakov, MOST-Bank's first vice-president. "We polled our clients about the new product, and 100 percent of them said they wanted to live in Moscow and feel as if they lived in London."

Julie Tolkacheva



Infrastructure improvements and liberalized trade measures boost the energy sector.

LIBERALIZATION OF ENERGY

A survey of major changes in the country's lucrative oil and gas sector.

This year, Moscow has taken a giant step toward liberalizing oil exports by abandoning a system of state-controlled quotas, slashing export tariffs and granting all oil companies direct access to foreign markets. Under pressure from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, Russia has scrapped the category of so-called "special exporters," a select group of fewer than 20 companies through which all oil producers had to channel their exports.

Combined with the removal of restrictive quotas and reduced export tariffs, the measures encouraged dozens of oil companies — formerly confined to the domestic market, where prices are approximately one-third of the world level — to apply to export up to 100 percent of their produce. The capacity of Russia's export pipelines is limited — 100 million tons of crude a year, or just under 30 percent of the country's annual output; this restricts sales abroad, and so far there has been no substantial increase in exports. Russia's pipelines are also in a dire state. Last year alone, some 3 million tons of oil were lost through pipeline accidents.

Billions of extra dollars

A series of projects now under way will boost the amount of oil Russia can pump to the rest of the world by millions of tons, earning the country billions of extra dollars in tax revenues. In the meantime, the government continues to allocate companies' pipeline assets, this is a common cause of complaint among exporters, who charge that the system is arbitrary, unfair and open to corruption.

Western oil companies operating in Russia, however, are spared such headaches. As a measure to attract foreign investment, joint ventures are guaranteed the right to export their entire output. Joint ventures accounted for about 10

percent of all exports from Russia last year.

Radical restructuring

Privatization has seen Russia's monolithic oil industry develop into eight major oil companies — some of which are big enough to rival the West's energy giants. These oil companies are currently busy purchasing everything from gas stations to oil refineries in a bid to turn themselves into vertically integrated concerns along the lines of their Western counterparts.

LUKoil, with profits of \$200 million last year, is the largest and most forward-thinking of the group. It has emerged as one of the most popular stocks on the country's burgeoning equity market. Next year, it plans to raise \$300 million through a bond issue on Western markets to renovate and re-equip its facilities.

The state is due to sell its remaining holding in the oil companies later this year, and analysts predict a scramble for the equity.

Russia's giant natural-gas monopoly Gazprom — potentially the world's largest company in terms of its gas reserves — also has plans to float shares on Wall Street. Gazprom is so big that its shares account for around a quarter of the value of the Russian stock market.

Peculiarly, though, the securities have hardly changed hands since the company was privatized two years ago. Standing in the way of trade in Gazprom is a byzantine rule stipulating that the company must give its permission for any of its shares to be bought or sold.

With export earnings alone at around \$8 billion last year, however, Gazprom remains a lucrative strategic investment, and several of the world's leading energy companies have expressed an interest in taking a stake in the Russian gas giant.

Alexander Gordyev

CAMPAIGN TO PENETRATE GLOBAL ARMS MARKET

Russia is determined to bolster its role as an international weapons trader.

Despite the poor performance of some of its weapons in Chechnya, Russia says its aggressive campaign to penetrate the international arms market is paying off.

Moscow forecasts that it will sell weapons and military equipment worth about \$2.6 billion in 1995, compared with about \$1.7 billion last year, according to the head of Rosvooruzhenie, the state-run arms export company. Director-general Alexander Kotelnik said at a press conference last month that the company has already signed contracts worth \$1.675 billion this year.

Russian arms dealers and producers are hoping to tap markets in the oil-rich Middle East for the latest models

of tanks and fighter aircraft. They also plan to expand cooperation with traditional partners India and China, which account for more than two-thirds of Moscow's arms exports.

Heavy losses in Grozny

During the Gulf War of 1991 and more recently in the breakaway republic of Chechnya, Russian arms, especially tanks, were not shown in the most favorable light. Around 100 T-80 tanks were easily knocked out by hand grenades in urban combat during the battle for Grozny. Defense industry officials believe, however, that Russia's heavy equipment losses during the war in Chechnya will not adversely affect the country's

ability to compete on world markets. Mr. Kotelnik says Russia aims to "appear on the markets of three or four new countries" in 1995.

Russia has suffered a huge decline in its arms industry since 1987, when the Soviet Union supplied Warsaw Pact and other client states with an estimated \$22 billion worth of weapons. Since the breakup of the Soviet Union in late 1991, Russia slipped from a position of parity with the United States to sixth place in the world.

Nevertheless, Russia has over the last year managed to bolster its position on the international weapons market by signing several lucrative contracts. In September 1994, a preliminary \$350

million deal for supplying aircraft and tanks to the Philippines was signed. In August, Kuwait signed a \$800 million deal for BMP-3 armored vehicles and Smerch multiple rocket launchers. This followed a \$600 million agreement in July 1994 to sell MiG-29 fighters to Malaysia.

Aggressive promotion

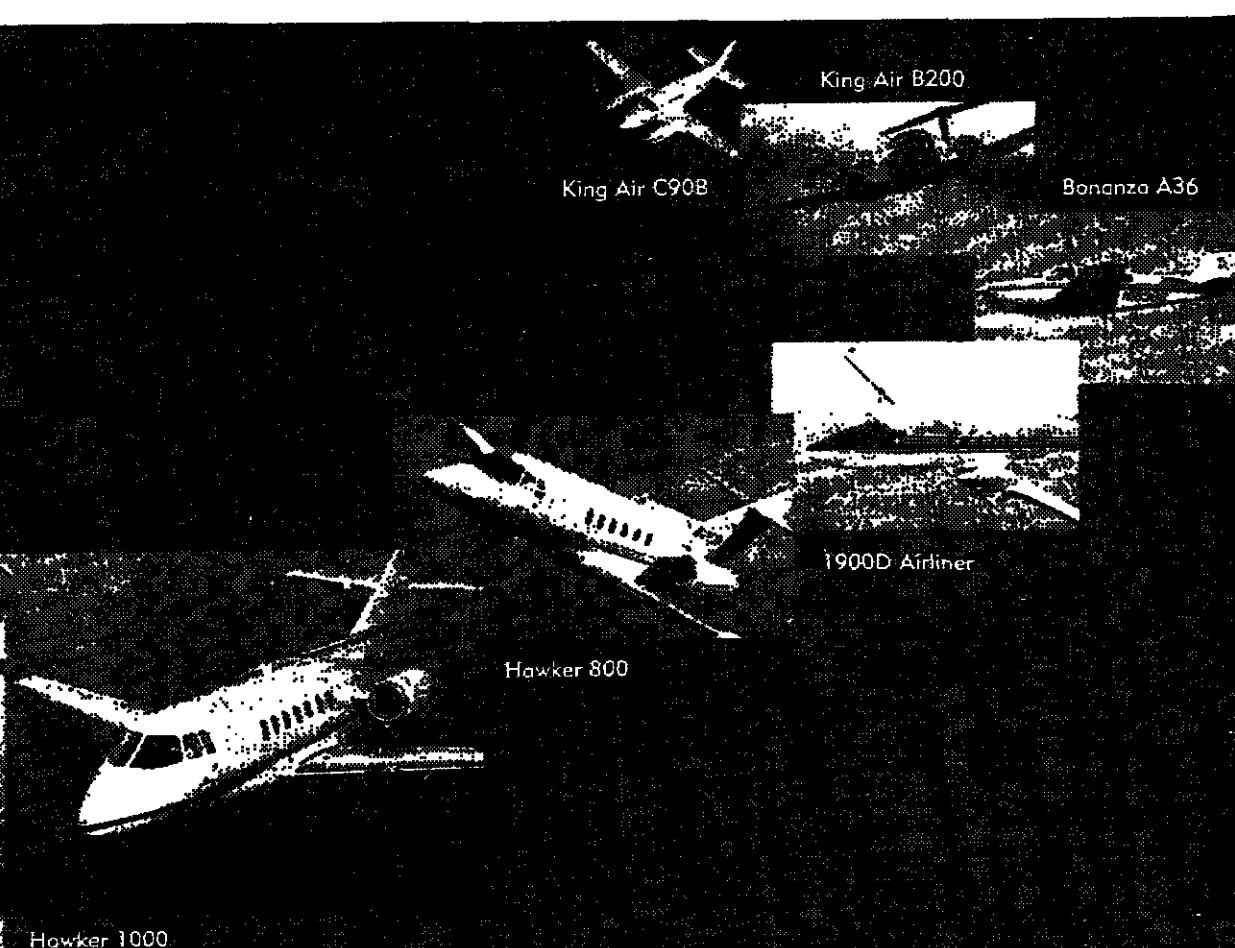
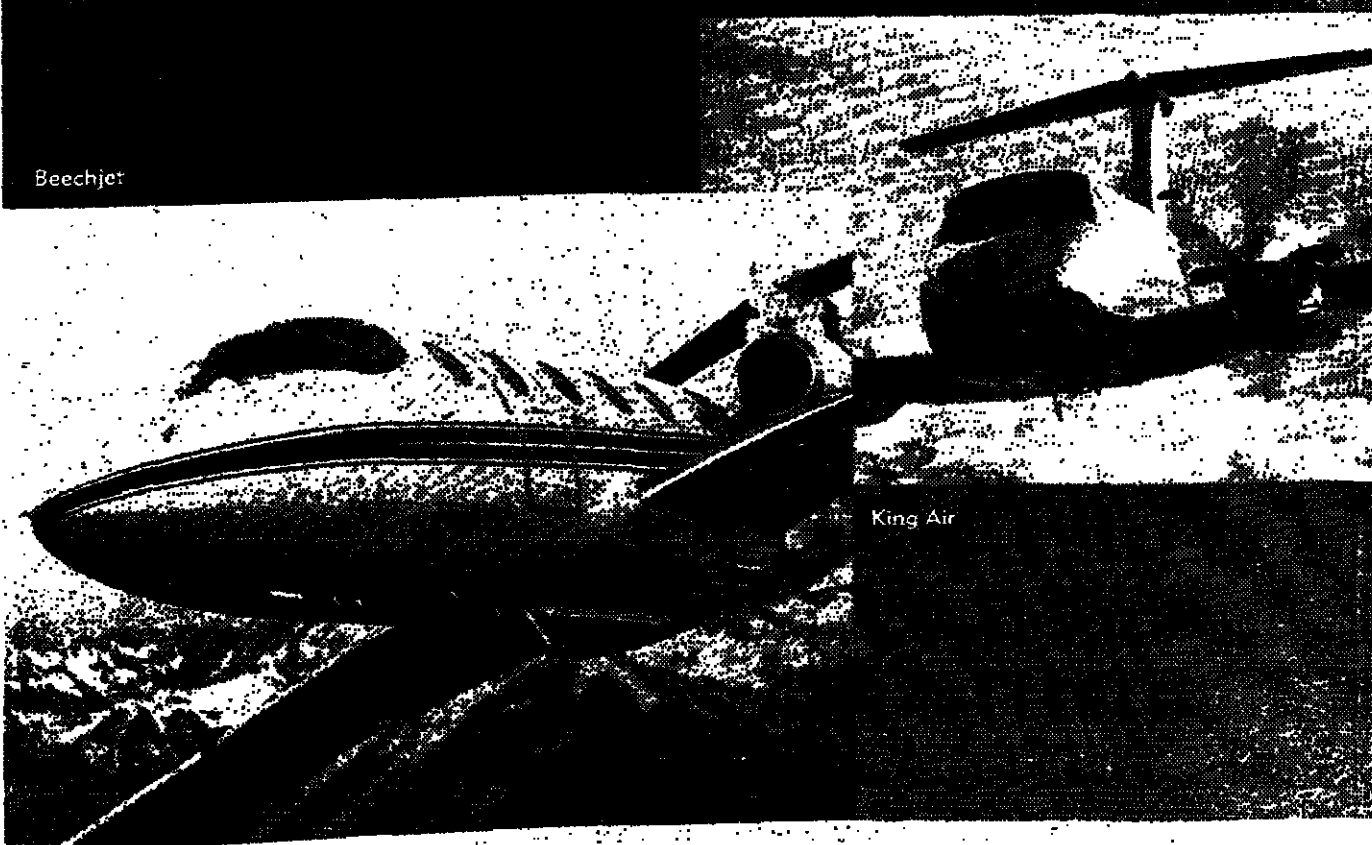
Alexander Kulik, an arms trade expert at Moscow's USA and Canada Institute, attributes Russia's growing penetration of the world arms market to an aggressive promotion campaign and active participation in major international arms fairs. "Russia has also several advantages that nobody else has," he says, citing low

prices and willingness to accept barter payments.

All the same, Mr. Kulik says, Russia will find it hard to increase exports, since Western weapons makers, suffering from weaker demand at home since the end of the Cold War, will try to block Russia from the lucrative arms trade. "Arms suppliers nowadays should be ready to give loans or to invest a portion of a deal's worth in the projects inside the buying country, but I doubt we can suggest anything attractive here," he says. "Russian policy has become very active, even aggressive, but we are still unable to compete equally on the market, despite some success in recent years."

Anton Zhigulsky

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EXPECT GREAT THINGS

R U S S I A

TOURISM:
READY
TO
BOUNCE
BACK

Travel opportunities have broadened.

More Western-style accommodations and increasing political and economic stability promise to give a boost to Russia's tourist industry in 1995, officials and travel operators say.

"This will be a good year, and we are optimistic," says Sergei Shpilko, deputy chairman of the Russian government committee on tourism, citing improving domestic conditions and more advertising abroad.

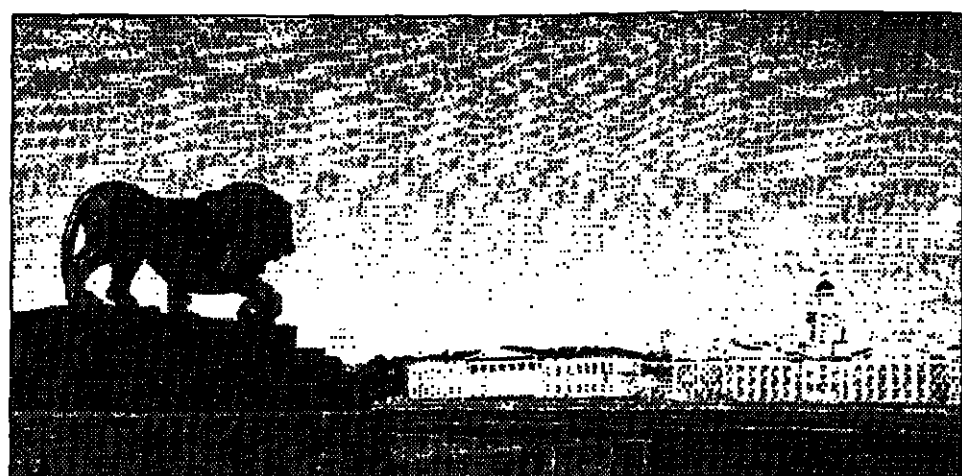
The number of foreign visitors dove by almost one-third last year, to 2.6 million, but Mr. Shpilko says that he expects a modest rebound this year.

While Russia has a millennium of history to offer tourists, only in the last several years has it developed a critical mass of Western-grade services and facilities. Over the past few years, several luxury hotels have been built in Russia. Few are as well-appointed as the Hotel Baltich Kempinski Moscow.

But luxury and fine dining are not the only reasons why the 234-bed hotel, completed in 1992, is so attractive to travelers. The Kempinski offers an airport pick-up service, thus eliminating one of Moscow's greatest headaches — getting from Sheremetyevo airport into the city.

Bolshoi and circus

In addition, more new facilities, such as ethnic restaurants, have opened to complement traditional attractions like the Bolshoi Theater and the circus.



As Cold War rivalries fade, old Russia continues to charm visitors.

The biggest problem remains image. "Foreign mass media sometimes exaggerate the difficulties one can face traveling in Russia," says Alexei Zhegalov, managing director of Apex Travel World, a Moscow-based travel agency.

Tourist operators breathed a sigh of relief earlier this year when another potential deterrent to tourism, a bill that would have required all foreign visitors to be tested for AIDS, was rejected by President Boris Yeltsin.

Reports of problems are not without foundation. Before 1991, visiting Russia was a relatively simple matter.

Between government tourist guides and KGB agents, the number of places a foreigner could stay and travel was severely limited, while the state often went out of its way to promote its own image. Now the opportunities are almost limitless — sometimes causing chaos.

Persistence needed

"Come back Brezhnev, all is forgiven," jokes Barry Martin, chief executive of Russia House Ltd., a London-based agency, noting how payoffs and enormous persistence are now sometimes needed for agencies to make even the most basic arrangements. Most hurdles can be cleared up, however, before a traveler arrives.

Mr. Martin estimates that his agency's bookings in 1995 are up about 10 percent over 1994, which he calls "an especially bad year."

Perhaps the most significant change in the travel industry is the change in orientation — from catering to foreigners visiting Russia to serving the growing number of Russians traveling abroad.

"Right now, our premium classes are filling up with new Russian businessmen," says Martha Ivanova, chief reservation officer for British Airways in Moscow. More than 5 million Russians spent an estimated \$6.8 billion abroad in 1994, figures unimaginable before Mikhail Gorbachev began

launching reforms 10 years ago.

Not only are the demographics changing, but so are destinations. Whereas in past years, most travel was to Europe for business, leisure resorts such as the Seychelles and the Caribbean are now very popular, Ms. Ivanova says.

For Westerners, the mystique of old Russia continues to charm. "I still get excited walking around Red Square and the Kremlin," says Mr. Martin, who has made more than 150 trips to Russia over the past 30 years. "And the people. Once you become a friend of a Russian, you've got a friend for life."

Jeremy Weinberg

SECRETS OF A RUSSIAN ROLE MODEL

Anatoly A. Sobchak was born in 1937. After earning a doctorate in jurisprudence, he held the chair of law at the University of Leningrad and also had a legal practice. In 1989, he began his political career and was elected to the Soviet parliament. In 1990, he was elected to Leningrad's city council. A year later, he was elected mayor of the city, which had by now returned to its original name of St. Petersburg. In the following interview, he discusses the development of St. Petersburg and its position as a role model for Russia.

Over the past five years, St. Petersburg has achieved notable successes in transforming its economy and administrative structures. Have these successes primarily been products of St. Petersburg's special features, such as its location and its beauty?

St. Petersburg's special features — I would also include the city's large-sized research community and

its tradition of internationality — have proven to be considerable assets in the securing of foreign investment and in the modernizing of our economy. Another, perhaps even more important asset has been the high level of qualification of our city's work force.

But these assets would still be lying dormant, unused, had our city's government not resolved, clearly and unequivocally, to create a free market economy in St. Petersburg. This commitment was made at the very start of the reform era. It was an expression of our population's consensual wish for change.

This commitment has been made in other areas and communities in Russia — also with positive results. So, although we have been especially successful in St. Petersburg, there is nothing

totally special about our success.

St. Petersburg has a large number of productive, profitable new companies. Many of them share a major shareholder: the municipal government. How did your government come to embark upon this very new kind of activity?

Helping launch companies operating in a free market was new to many persons in St. Petersburg's government, but managing a major operation and acquiring new expertise were anything but that. Many of us had earned advanced degrees in economics or law or related fields, and most of us had spent years, if not decades, running enterprises and assuring the livelihoods of and providing services to thousands and hundreds of thousands of persons.

It was up to us to start the investment process — and to show that it could be done.

Because we had learned all throughout our studies and professional lives, we knew how to learn and what we needed to learn.

Starting five years ago, we began systematically acquiring and transferring the expertise we needed to operate in a new and changing environment. The founding of these companies stemmed from two simple and related realizations: There was no use passively waiting for investors to come and start investing.

Can St. Petersburg serve as a role model to Russia's other communities and regions?

It already is. To give one example: To prevent a rise in unemployment, the city government has launched a number of programs and set a number of facilities. Our employment experts are now assisting a number of other Russian communities in instituting programs emulating ours.

Interview by T.S.



ST. PETERSBURG: RICH PAST AND REVITALIZED PRESENT

Continued from page 18

business conferences. Such useful items as rent-an-office and travel arrangements, secretarial staffing, translators and other items are available at various hotels and in associated facilities. Another aspect of St. Petersburg may be witnessed on most evenings in any of the city's theaters, concert halls, jazz joints and other cultural venues.

St. Petersburg also benefits from an activist government determined to make the most of the city's assets

and boost its economy. "Things are improving in St. Petersburg," says Alexei L. Kudrin, the city's first deputy mayor and finance minister. "Two years ago, we were striving, successfully, to keep our people fed. Last year, we were striving, successfully, to keep our industrial sector alive. This year, we are striving to improve our infrastructure."

One problem not on his list is unemployment, which currently hovers around the 2 percent mark. "That figure sounds good," says Dmitry Chermeko, head of St. Pe-

tersburg's municipal employment authority. "It does not, however, include the 200,000 persons nominally employed by industrial companies but in fact doing no work and drawing little or no salary. Of course, this figure is counterbalanced by the equal or perhaps even larger number of persons subsisting on off-the-books work in the unofficial economy."

The size of this economy — about 25 percent of the official one, estimates Mr. Kudrin — partially accounts for St. Petersburg's growing

prosperity. It also poses a serious problem for the city's financial authorities, who are dependent upon securing the maximum amount of tax revenues. "It is a problem that will largely resolve itself," says Mr. Kudrin. "Electronic-based transaction and accounting systems are quickly becoming standards in St. Petersburg's rapidly growing business community. Such systems are highly conducive to official monitoring."

The rise of the business community is detailed in official statistics. Some 54

banks have headquarters in St. Petersburg, with another 66 maintaining outlets in the city. Some 248 foreign companies are now operating in the city. In 1994, about \$80 million was invested in the city's corporate sector.

Successful measures

High rates of corporate foundations, restructuring and investment are coupled with low rates of unemployment. Both trends are largely attributable to the inventiveness of St. Petersburg's activist city government. Successful measures include

"056," the city's "employment hotline," a citywide network of 20 full-service "employment outreach centers," and "qualification fairs," where people can enroll in a university or in a professional training program. All told, 1 million people used the city employment agency's services last year.

"Whether it is finding work for individual citizens, or making the entire city a workable proposition, the one constant of our job is hard work," says Mr. Kudrin. Terry Swartzberg

OPENING OF A NEW MARCO POLO HOTEL
IN ALMATY, KAZAKHSTAN

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NEVSKIJ PALACE HOTEL

St. Petersburg, Russia
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Fax: (+7) 812/850 15 01

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Fax: (+7) 5151/13086 ext. 132

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Экономика и Жизнь

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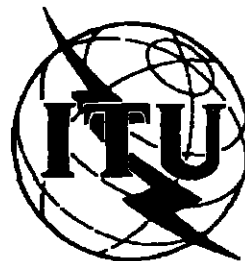
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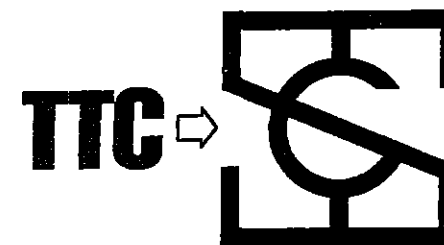
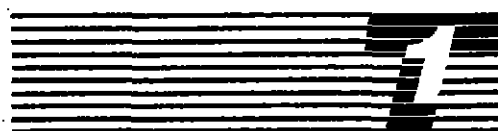
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As a complement to the print supplements, the IHT plans to publish a multimedia CD-ROM called Tracking Telecoms. The IHT will also benefit from special distribution at the show and at hotels in and around Geneva. A limited number of sponsorship and other commercial opportunities are still available. For a full description of the Tracking Telecoms project please contact:

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Herald INTERNATIONAL **Tribune**
PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

THE WORLD'S DAILY NEWSPAPER

SPORTS

2 Overtimes Give Wings a 3-0 Lead

The Associated Press
CHICAGO — After stopping 47 shots in a brilliant goal-tending display, Ed Belfour let his goal down for a second — and it cost the Chicago Blackhawks dearly.

NHL PLAYOFFS

The Detroit Red Wings a 4-3 victory and a 3-0 lead in the Western Conference finals.

"Ninety percent of the goals scored in this league aren't pretty," Detroit forward Dino Ciccarelli said as the Red Wings moved within one victory of their first trip to the Stanley Cup finals since 1966.

Detroit, which used its third consecutive dramatic one-goal victory over Chicago to take a 3-0 lead for its third successive series, can wrap up the best-of-7 Western Conference finals Thursday night in Chicago.

Only twice in NHL history has a team rallied from a 3-0 series deficit to win a best-of-7 series, but Chicago's Gerald Di-duck tried to put a unique spin on his club's dilemma.

"We're not further back than where we started; we still haven't won a game," he said. "I'm not down at all. Each game, we've played better and better."

Indeed, it was the Black-

hawks' best game of the series. But they were still outshot, 51-29, by a Detroit team that has followed a league-best 33-11-4 regular season with an 11-1 playoff run.

Konstantinov didn't even know that the 51st shot, his shot, had gone in until Ciccarelli told him.

"I just shot the puck and turned around to skate back to center," said Konstantinov, whose first career playoff goal ended the longest game of this year's playoffs. "Dino grabbed me from behind and said, 'You scored the goal.' I said, 'No, Dino, I don't trust you.' And he said, 'You scored the goal.' Then I was happy."

Belfour, meanwhile, was despondent. He lay face down on the United Center ice and didn't move as his teammates tried to console him.

Of Belfour's 47 saves, 19 came in the two overtimes. The play looked innocent enough, with Konstantinov gaining control at center ice, striding into Chicago's zone and putting a soft wrist shot toward goal. But Belfour barely got his blocker on the puck, which landed in the back of the goal.

The Red Wings, who won the series opener on Lidstrom's overtime goal, tied a franchise playoff record with their eighth consecutive victory.

The game drew the largest crowd in Blackhawks playoff history, 22,709.



The Expos' Mark Gudzianek and Jose Offerman shared a hug. The Dodgers waltzed away with the game.

Dutch Pinch-Hitter Is a Winner for Giants

The Associated Press
It was Rikkyt Faneite's biggest thrill since hitting a game-winning home run for the Netherlands against Taiwan.

Faneite's pinch-hit single over the head of center fielder Brett Butler on Tuesday gave the San Francisco Giants a 2-1 victory over the visiting New York Mets.

Faneite, a Dutch native who has only 47 major league at-bats, got his second hit this season, in his sixth at-bat.

"This is one of probably my top two thrills," he said. "I hit a

home run to win a game for the national team in 1989."

The Giants manager, Dusty Baker, said Faneite, a man of few words and fewer visible emotions, actually smiled after his game-winning hit.

"He cracked a little smile," Baker said, "so we knew he was elated."

Royce Clayton led off the ninth with a double off reliever John Franco and was sacrificed to third by Steve Scarsone. After an intentional walk to Kirt Marwarling, Faneite lined the winning hit over the drawn-in outfield.

Barry Bonds's RBI double down the right-field line with two outs in the eighth tied the score at 1-1. Bonds's hit off Franco prevented Mets starter Mike Birkbeck from getting his first victory since 1988.

Reds 2, Pirates 1: In Cincinnati, Eric Owens's 10th-inning single in his first official major-league at-bat beat bumbling Pittsburgh.

Thomas Howard opened the 10th with a fly to center that dropped in front of left-breaking Al Martin for a double.

Third baseman Jeff King's throwing error had led in an unearned run in the seventh and left Esteban Loaiza with nothing to show for his best major-league outing.

He allowed just one hit in

A 'Very Sick' Mantle Has Cancer of Liver, Transplant Needed Soon to Save His Life

The Associated Press
DALLAS — Mickey Mantle has liver cancer and will have to have a transplant "within three to four weeks," his doctors said Wednesday.

"His condition could change at any time," said Dr. Kent Hamilton, the 63-year-old Hall-of-Famer's attending physician. "It's day to day. I can tell you he will not get out of the hospital without getting a transplant."

"It is our opinion that the tumor cannot be removed safely, that his condition continues to worsen, and that the only way to save his life is a transplant," Hamilton said.

Doctors at Baylor University Medical Center also said the New York Yankees' great, who entered the hospital last week, has hepatitis C. They speculated that the hepatitis resulted from blood transfusions Mantle received during past, athletic-related surgeries.

Dr. Robert Goldstein, a transplant surgeon, said he told Mantle and his wife that the operation could come as soon as several days or as long as two to four weeks.

A liver transplant is by far the most difficult of all organ transplants, Goldstein said. "The liver has a thousand functions. These are very difficult to maintain during a transplant."

"We've done a thorough examination, and there's no indication the cancer has spread,"

the surgeon said. "He is well enough" to have a transplant, "but he is very sick."

Goldstein added that there is no doubt "that Mantle's (past drinking) has played a factor in his present condition."

"Hopefully this will help people reconsider their lifestyle and their heavy alcoholic use," he said.

Yogi Berra, the Hall of Fame catcher and a longtime teammate, said Tuesday night he spoke with Mantle when he entered the hospital. Mantle has lived in Dallas for many years.

"He said he had some kind of stomach problem and was going to get a physical," Berra said from his home in Montclair, New Jersey. "He knew he was sick then, but he didn't know what it was."

Mantle's drinking used to be a source of jokes during his playing days. Stories of his drunken escapades with teammates were as popular during his retirement as the legend of "The Mick" and his 536 home runs, eighth on the all-time list.

All that drastically changed last year with his public admission that his drinking became a problem he couldn't kick. He realized he was an alcoholic and sought treatment.

SCOREBOARD

Major League Standings

AMERICAN LEAGUE			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Boston	24	12	.667
Baltimore	24	12	.667
Detroit	24	12	.667
Toronto	15	22	.409
New York	14	21	.400
CENTRAL DIVISION			
Cleveland	24	10	.706
Chicago	20	14	.588
Minnesota	15	21	.413
Seattle	17	27	.389
WEST DIVISION			
California	23	15	.606
Texas	20	17	.541
Seattle	20	17	.541
Oakland	20	18	.526

NATIONAL LEAGUE			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Philadelphia	24	14	.632
Atlanta	21	17	.559
Montreal	22	16	.577
New York	15	23	.395
Florida	18	26	.409
CENTRAL DIVISION			
Cincinnati	21	17	.559
Chicago	19	17	.526
Houston	16	24	.400
St. Louis	13	29	.311
Pittsburgh	13	29	.311
WEST DIVISION			
San Francisco	21	17	.559
Colorado	21	17	.559
Los Angeles	20	18	.526
San Diego	17	21	.447

Tuesday's Line Scores

AMERICAN LEAGUE			
California	10	2	7
Boston	8	0	3
Los Angeles	7	0	3
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Tuesday's Line Scores

bles they're having," said the Brewers' manager, Phil Garner. "We've had our problems, too. Our lack of being able to put runs on the board in key situations. I've seen hard times."

Not as hard as the Twins, who lost their sixth straight at home.

With an 11-27 record, the Twins are the worst team in the AL. They have given up 6 home runs through 38 games, a pace that would have lead u

Bulgaria Trounces Germany Again, on 2 Unanswered Goals

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

Bulgaria, which knocked Germany out of the World Cup last year, triumphed again Wednesday night when it defeated the former champion, 3-2, in a European championship qualifier in Sofia after trailing by two goals.

Emil Kostadinov, who plays for Bayern Munich, netted the winner in the 69th minute after European Footballer of the Year Hristo Stoichkov had given his team a tie with two successful penalties.

Kostadinov, who had come on as substitute only six minutes earlier, after missing Bulgaria's last game through injury,

EUROPEAN SOCCER

ry, stabbed the ball home with his right foot during a goal-mouth melee.

It virtually ensured Bulgaria's place in next year's finals in England, taking its tally to six victories six Group 7 matches and preserving the only unbeaten record in the qualifying tournament.

Germany, despite its first defeat after four victories and a draw, is still likely to join Bulgaria.

The Netherlands, boasting seven members of Ajax Amsterdam's European Cup-winning team, was upset in Belarus, with Sergei Gerasimets scoring the only goal of the Group 3 match in the 25th minute.

That left the 1988 European champions with just 11 points from seven matches and in grave danger of missing out on a place in England.

Luxembourg, pulled off perhaps the greatest victory in its long and largely barren international soccer history when it beat the Czech Republic, 1-0.

The goal was scored seconds from time by Guy Hellers, one of only four professionals on his team. Only 1,500 people watched the match in Luxembourg.

Group 1 leader Romania took another big step toward the finals when it beat visiting Israel, 2-1. Midfielder Dorinel Munteanu got the winner midway through the second half, blasting in a free-kick from 22 meters that went around the Israeli defensive wall.

A 64th-minute penalty goal by Fernando Hierro gave Spain a 1-0 victory over Armenia and kept the Group 2 leader unbeaten. It left Spain with 19 points, eight ahead of both Denmark and Belgium.

Defending champion Denmark kept its hopes very much alive with a confident, 4-0 victory over visiting Cyprus. Veteran midfielder Kim Vilfort, 32, the hero of Denmark's surprise triumph over Germany in the 1992 final, scored twice.

Playmaker Enzo Scifo celebrated his return to the national team with two goals as Belgium won in Macedonia and maintained its chances.

Jan-Aage Fjoroft and Jostein Flo, who both play their club soccer in England, led a 2-0 win over Malta as Norway virtually clinched a berth.

But Northern Ireland's dreams of a place in the cham-

ionship all but died when it lost, 2-1, at home to Latvia. The home side went ahead in first half injury time through striker Iain Dowie, but then conceded two goals in four minutes in the second half.

And Wales' nightmarish run in the tournament continued when midfielder Vinnie Jones was sent off during the 1-0 defeat by visiting Georgia. Jones was dismissed by Finnish referee Ilkka Koho just 28 minutes into the Group 7 qualifier for stamping on striker Mikhail Kavelashvili's midriff.

The matches, the scoring: Poland 5 Slovakia 0: Group 1, in Zabrze. The scorers: Andrzej Juskowiak (9th, 74th), Tomasz Wiesztycki (59th), Roman Kosecki (64th), Piotr Nowak (71st).

Romania 2 Israel 1: Group 2, in Bucharest. The scorers: Romania — Marius Lacatus (16th), Dorinel Munteanu (65th); Israel — Eyal Bercoviz (50th).

Spain 1, Armenia 0: Group 2, in Seville. The scorers: Fernando Hierro (64th, penalty).

Denmark 4, Cyprus 0: Group 2, in Copenhagen. The scorers: Kim Vilfort (45th, 50th), Brian Laudrup (58th), Michael Laudrup (75th).

Macedonia 0, Belgium 5: Group 2, in Skopje. The scorers: Georges Gruen (14th), Vincenzo Scifo (18th, 58th), Guenther Schepens (27th), Bruno Versavel (43rd).

Lithuania 2, Slovenia 1: Group 4, in Vilnius. The scorers: Lithuania — Ramunas Stanekis (67th), Arunas Sukla (69th); Slovenia — Primoz Gliha (82d).

Belarus 1, Netherlands 0: Group 5, in Minsk. The scorers: Sergei Gerasimets (25th).

Luxembourg 1, Czech Republic 0: Group 5, in Luxembourg. The scorers: Guy Hellers (90th).

Norway 2, Malta 0: Group 5, in Oslo. The scorers: Jan-Aage Fjoroft (43d), Jostein Flo (88th).

Northern Ireland 1, Latvia 2: Group 6, in Belfast. The scorers: Northern Ireland — Ian Dowie (44th); Latvia — Armands Zeibertis (58th), Vitalis Astasjovs (62d).

Bulgaria 3, Germany 2: Group 7, in Sofia. The scorers: Bulgaria — Hristo Stoichkov (45th, penalty; 66th, penalty), Emil Kostadinov (69th); Germany — Jurgen Klinsmann (18th), Thomas Strunz (44th).

Wales 0, Georgia 1: Group 7, in Cardiff. The scorers: Georgi Kinkladze (73d).

Moldova 2, Albania 3: Group 7, in Chisinau. The scorers: Moldova — Alexandru Curteanu (11th), Sergei Kleshchenko (16th); Albania — Sokol Kushta (8th), Arjan Belai (26th), Rudi Vata (72d).

Faeroe Islands 0, Scotland 2: Group 8, in Torfaer. The scorers: Billy McKinlay (25th), John McGinlay (29th).

San Marino 0, Russia 7: Group 8, in San Marino. The scorers: Igor Dobrovolsky (20th, penalty), Luca Gobbi (37th), Sergei Kiryakov (48th), Igor Shalimov (49th), Vladimir Beschastnykh (59th), Igor Kolyvanov (64th), Dmitry Cheryshev (85th).



Michael Chang kept watch on his work, and in so doing sinned in the eyes of the spectators.



Michael Chang kept watch on his work, and in so doing sinned in the eyes of the spectators.

SIDELINES

Newcastle Pays Again, Gets Ferdinand

NEWCASTLE, England (Reuters) — Queens Park Rangers striker Les Ferdinand became British football's second most expensive player Wednesday when he joined Newcastle United for £6 million (\$9.6 million), the club announced.

It was Newcastle's second big transfer this week. On Monday, Wimbledon's Warren Barton became England's most expensive defender when he completed a £4 million move.

The price paid for Ferdinand has been exceeded only by the £7 million Manchester United paid for Newcastle striker Andy Cole last January.

Seles: 'A First Step Forward for Me'

NEW YORK (AP) — Monica Seles, sounding buoyant and free now that the weight of making the decision had been lifted, called next month's exhibition match "a first step forward for me."

Seles, speaking by telephone from her home in Sarasota, Florida, after it was announced Tuesday that she had agreed to nationally televised exhibition July 29 against Martina Navratilova, said, "It's been a difficult couple of years. I'm so excited. I'm very much looking forward to playing Martina again and starting to do something I really love to do."

Of a return to the tour, she said she is thinking about it, but wasn't committing herself yet.

For the Record

Valenciennes, the other team involved in the 1993 bribery scandal that led to the downfall of Olympique Marseille and its owner Bernard Tapie, was demoted to the amateur ranks when it was unable to prove it was financially solvent.

Don Zimmer, 64, who was a coach for the Colorado Rockies, retired without fanfare after 47 years in baseball as player, manager and coach.

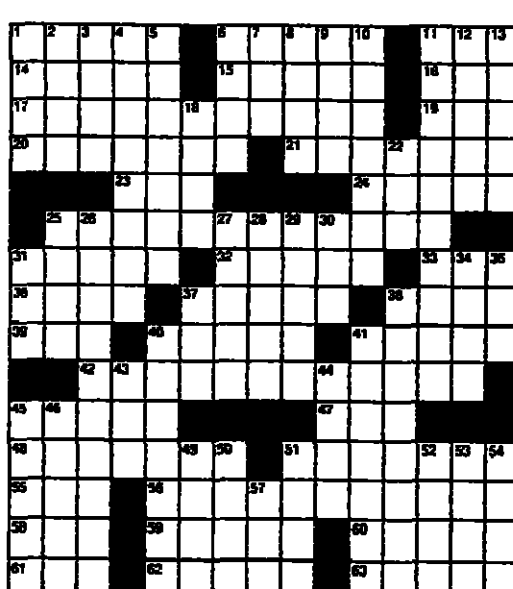
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- ACROSS
1 Spicy dip
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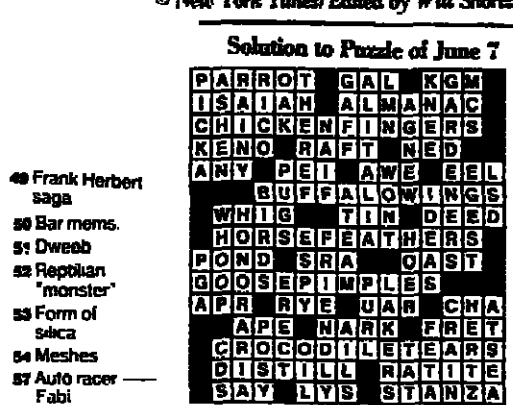
- 14 Allegheny River city
15 Ball girl
16 School of whales
17 Drivers hit of 1963

- 18 — was saying
19 Raincoats
20 Liquor named for an island
21 Three Prefix
22 No-nonsense
23 Dick Van Dyke, in "Mary Poppins"
24 "Purgatory" dramatist
25 Sipped a Mickey
26 Diamond stat
27 With detritus
28 Impostors
29 Sightsee
30 Stock option
31 Erskine
32 Caldwell's "Mrs. Mamma"
33 Buffalo skater
34 Wiretapper, e.g.
35 Old World undergrowth
36 Composer
37 Capital Hill sight
38 Nine-sided
39 Type of dye
40 Vulgar one
41 Yim
42 Rerun
43 Sullivan and others
44 Change the grass
45 Spanish corn of yore

- DOWN
1 Broth
2 Canine bowlful
3 Panetta of the White House
4 Holiness
5 Shrimps songs
6 Lincoln and others
7 Splash or plunk lead-in
8 Alliance
9 Baseball's Felipe
10 Comet
11 Voyager 2, e.g.
12 N.F.L. QB
13 Bonnie
14 Blackhead
15 Cornet
16 Like bean-dip beans
17 Voyager 2, e.g.
18 N.F.L. QB
19 Bonnie
20 Blackhead
21 Cornet
22 Chemical suffix
23 Philippine tale
24 Women's summer wear
25 Wax-coated cheeses
26 Hammead
27 Nazi architect
28 Albert
29 Horror film director
30 Horror film director
31 Mouth, slangy
32 Duels of 1804
33 Pique
34 "For shame!"
35 Fast-paced entertainment
36 Superhero, often
37 Faerie Queen's creator
38 Temple sch.
39 — about (legal time frame)
40 Concord, e.g.
41 Euxine



Puzzle by Chuck DeBevoise © New York Times Edited by Will Shortz



Solution to Puzzle of June 7

After the Bed Check, Dreams of Glory

By Ian Thomsen
International Herald Tribune

JOHANNESBURG — The Australians would rather stay in Cape Town, but who wouldn't? If Cape Town is the San Francisco of Africa, then this place is Lincoln, Nebraska. But rules are rules, and so the Aussies were forced to leave their base in Cape Town in order to spend midweek training up here — before returning south for Sunday's match in Cape Town.

The idea was to make all eight Rugby World Cup quarterfinalists spend the week in the high altitude of Johannesburg and Pretoria, so that no team might claim whatever advantage it might possibly have. Even the teams that were already here were forced to move, just you know, so no one can claim he was treated unfairly.

For Scotland it has meant moving two blocks, from one Holiday Inn to another Holiday Inn.

England and Australia have both asked for permission to leave Friday, a day earlier than planned, for their key meeting Sunday at Newlands in Cape Town. Since the 1991 tournament, it seems, only the hotel towels have been changed. Except for South Africa's replacing Canada, the same teams have advanced to the quarterfinals as did last time.

England's game is a rematch of the 1991 World Cup final; but since the English lost that one they prefer to compare Sunday's match with the 1991 quarterfinal in Paris, when they upset the French.

Horan will be making his needed that incentive before re-emerging with a 44-22 beating of Western Samoa last weekend. "This is the kind of challenge we always rise to and I think we will pull out a great performance. I think it's when we're at our best," Carling said. "We know what is coming. We'll probably have to play as well as we have to best them. I'm quite convinced we can."

In the past, Australia's David Campese hasn't thought very much of England. He, the world's leader with 63 tries, thought they were "quite" dull. But Campese hasn't been saying much of anything recently, angry that he had been quoted as saying that his miraculously-recovered teammate, Tim Horan, should not have been included in the team.

Horan will be making his

Bruguera and Chang March, To a Hiss or Two, Into Semis

By Christopher Clarey
Special to the Herald Tribune

PARIS — It has been a gray and grumpy sort of French Open. The sky has been uncooperative and so have the spectators, who have fumbled with their umbrellas, brooded nothing resembling misbehavior and bid early, unwelcome adieus to the charismatic likes of Boris Becker and Andre Agassi, not to mention every single player who calls France home.

Wednesday's events did little to improve the general mood. In return for paying top franc, the fans on Center Court were treated to two thoroughly lopsided and thoroughly forgettable men's quarterfinals in which the two favorites, Sergi Bruguera and Michael Chang, left painfully little room for imagination to take flight.

Bruguera, the two-time defending champion, struck first, disposing of Italy's game but limited Renzo Furlan, 6-2, 7-5, 6-2. Chang, who will face Bruguera in the semifinals Friday, followed with a 7-5, 6-0, 6-1 romp over Romania's gifted but inexperienced Adrian Panu.

As if the spectators had not suffered enough, in the final game of Chang's victory it began to pour rain. Those in the stands did not suffer in silence, however. After whistling at Bruguera in his fourth-round match against Magnus Larsson for protesting one too many line calls, their relatively undeserving target this day was Chang, who is hardly known for stirring controversy.

His sin, apparently, was taking his job too seriously. After saving two set points while serving at 4-5, 15-40 in the opening set, he put a headlock on the match, winning the next 13 games. And while Voinea, the qualifier who stunned Becker in the third round, was clearly adrift in his

first appearance on Center Court, Chang kept his focus and kept hustling, pounding his strokes and digging for balls in the red dirt.

"I felt he was big like Gulliver, even though I'm taller than him," Voinea explained.

Leading the Lilliputian from Romania by 3-0 in the third set, Chang questioned a line call — rightly, it would turn out — and was hissed. Then, after Voinea broke through to win a game and make it 4-1, he reached out on the changeover and tried to shake Chang's hand. Chang looked at the hand in confusion and kept right on walking.

"I actually thought he was conceding the match," Chang said. "I kind of looked at the umpire and he kind of looked at me. We didn't know what he was actually doing."

"It was a joke," Voinea said. Chang, a thorough sort, had considered that possibility.

"Well, I know the match isn't over, and he knows the match isn't over," he said. "I'm not very familiar with Adrian, but I know for him to get through qualifying and get to the quarterfinals, he's got to be a tough player. And I've been in situations where I think I have the match all nice and handy and stuff and things turn around."

Other Open Results
Women's Doubles, Quarterfinals
Jana Novotna, Czech Republic, and Arantxa Sanchez-Vicario (1), Spain, def. Elena Nekrasova and Ekaterina Makarova (1), Russia, 2-6, 6-2, 6-2; Nicole Pietrangeli and Lindsay Davenport (4), U.S., def. Elena Nekrasova, South Africa, and Irina Selner (1), Romania, 6-3, 6-4; Patty Fendick and Mary Joe Fernandez (5), U.S., def. Katrina Adams and Zina Garrison-Jackson (1), U.S., 6-4, 6-6; Ota Fernandez, U.S., and Natasha Zvereva (2), Belarus, def. Julie Halard and Nathalie Tauziat (6), France, 7-6 (7-4), 7-6 (7-4).

Men's Doubles, Quarterfinals
Jill Hetherington, Canada, and John-Laffie de Jaeger, South Africa, def. Brenda Schultz, Netherlands, and Lutz Janner (1), U.S., 6-4, 6-1.

It can happen; just ask Jana Novotna. But in this case it didn't and Chang, a semifinalist at the Australian Open and now a semifinalist here, got hooted on his way off the court.

"I realize that some people like me and some people don't," he said with trademark equanimity. "As for me, I like Paris."

And why shouldn't he? It was here in 1989 that he became the youngest man to win a Grand Slam by winning his way past Ivan Lendl and Stefan Edberg at age 17.

But it is to hardcourt that he has tailored his game in recent years, adding power and emphasizing the attack. And though Chang is indeed an all-court threat, as is Yevgeni Kafelnikov, the two other men left in the tournament have earned their reputations and the bulk of their prize money on clay.

Like last year, the slow surface and grueling matches have weeded out the net-rushers and the top four seeds, and the most likely scenario is that the fifth-seeded Thomas Muster and seventh-seeded Bruguera will match, groundstrokes and grunts in the final.

It also appears likely that the defending women's champion, Arantxa Sanchez-Vicario, will reach the final. Kimiko Date, her flat-stroking opponent in Thursday's first semifinal, has never beaten her on clay, and lost by 6-3, 6-0 to her two weeks ago in the quarterfinals of the German Open.

The other finalist is much more difficult to predict.

Though Steffi Graf, the No. 2 seed, has a 10-1 career edge over Conchita Martinez, Martinez is a different, more confident player since joining forces with the coach Carlos Kirmayr.

She has won 24 straight matches and four straight tournaments on clay. The last person to beat her? Graf in March in the final of Delray Beach.

There has been a shuffling of hotels, forced in the interest of fairness, but the quarterfinals will have much the same look as those of the last World Cup.

So Saturday's team, barring one change — at scrumhalf, where Dewi Morris replaces Kyran Bracken — will be a replica of the one that won the Five Nations title in March. Several injured players, notably wing Rory Underwood and Morris, have been declared ready and able to take on the Aussies.

England's record in big games under captain Will Carling is excellent, and perhaps the team

needed that incentive before re-emerging with a 44-22 beating of Western Samoa last weekend. "This is the kind of challenge we always rise to and I think we will pull out a great performance. I think it's when we're at our best," Carling said. "We know what is coming. We'll probably have to play as well as we have to best them. I'm quite convinced we can."

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Horan will be making his

third straight appearance at center for Australia since reconstructive knee surgery last year, while the 32-year-old Campese will be seeking a different sort of recovery. The world's most entertaining player (pre-Jonah Lomu) has yet to add to his World Cup record of 10 tries. Against Canada he couldn't even kick out of touch in six straight attempts.

"I think we are in for a big trouble, and we are working our way out of a not such a wonderful position at the moment."

His counterpart, England's coach Jack Rowell, was saying the same things a week ago. Rowell has spent this week trying to dig more spirit from Jeremy Guscott, who showed little of his speed in group play. Even if Guscott delivers, England can still not match the sort of inspiration that Campese can provide — or, at least, has provided in the past.

"He certainly looks fresh, enthusiastic and full of running at training," Dwyer said of Campese, adding that his star was not despondent.

"But I have certainly got the impression from some of the things he has said that he has been disappointed," Dwyer said. "I personally think his form has been O.K., actually. It was just his fine kicking that was abominable and he thinks that, too."

It might just be that he will feel more comfortable in this most desperate situation — the game he has to win against a team he doesn't like. Neither team is rated ahead of favorites South Africa and New Zealand, but the winner is sure to claim new respect.

"Campese usually plays very well against England," Dwyer said. "In 1988 I don't think I have ever seen an individual play so well on a tour, and in the 1991 World Cup final he certainly played very well again. Let's hope it is England that brings out the best in him."

And, Carling might say, vice-versa.

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